Lord R. S. Livie-Noble.

COMING OF AGE

STUDIES IN
SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP AND POLITICS

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STUDIES IN SOUTH AFRICAN CITIZENSHIP AND POLITICS

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INTRODUCTION.

By Jan H. Hofmeyr.

This book has been written, and will be published, during the twenty-first year of South Africa's life as a political unit. On May 31st, 1931, the Union will come of age. The infant, whose birth was acclaimed with such enthusiasm and heralded with such confident anticipations of a healthy and vigorous life, will have completed the span of years which men associate with the attainment of maturity. It is a time to stop and think, no unfitting occasion for a consideration of the tasks with which the Union, now coming of age, is faced, of the adequacy of its equipment for the performance of those tasks, and of the most effective manner of using that equipment. It is the more desirable to do so, since there are but few South Africans who are satisfied with the extent to which the anticipations of twenty-one years ago have been fulfilled.

South Africa to-day is passing through a period of doubt, of questioning, of hesitation. Is it well with the land and its people? Is the future assured? Are the problems not perhaps insoluble? Is their solution being approached in the right way? There is impatience with the slowness of the growth of true national unity. There is a feeling that South Africa is in its economic development falling behind in the race with other peoples. There is fear that perhaps after all

Anthony Trollope may have been right when he wrote, "South Africa is a country of black men, and not of white men—it has been so, it is so, and it will be so." Certainly the Union has occupied itself overmuch with controversies between the two great elements in its European population, and with unfruitful issues which have arisen therefrom. And the cost of that preoccupation has been the neglect of other issues of more abiding significance for its future, and a consequent unreadiness and vacillation in dealing with urgent tasks. There is great need for constructive political thinking, and that not merely by those actively engaged in politics—thinking which will provide the basis of subsequent action.

It is out of the consciousness of these things that this book has been born; it is published with no extravagant notions as to its value in meeting the need which has been stated, but rather as a stimulus to thought and to other work on similar lines.

The idea of the creation of a group which would undertake a task of this nature had a simultaneous twofold origin. The present writer had been thinking in that direction, and had discussed the matter with one of the members of the group as later constituted, when he was approached by three others who had been deliberating a similar project. The result was the joining of forces, and the constitution and subsequent expansion of the group. Its co-operative action and discussions have borne fruit in the Studies which are now presented.

The members of the group are all of the younger generation. For the most part they are of an age, five of them having been actual contemporaries as University students, both in South Africa and oversea ; in the case of all but one, their direct interest in public affairs is virtually limited to the post-Union period. In their origin they represent all parts of South Africa, and a great variety of the strains that go to the making up of the South African nation. Two of them, Messrs. Schreiner and Ramsbottom, are members of the Johannesburg Bar, three are heads of University Departments, Professor Haarhoff and Dr. Frankel in Johannesburg, and Professor Brookes in Pretoria, Mr. Currey is the Rector of Michaelhouse School in Natal, and Mr. Rheinallt Jones is Adviser to the South African Institute of Race Relations. Community of ideals in matters of principle, and not any political bond, is the link that has been the cohesive force of the group.

The group came together, then, in the feeling that the time was ripe for a re-examination of the Union's tasks in the light of the far-reaching changes which have taken place since it was established. It believed that there was need for the conduct of such an examination by a small body of men, prepared to apply to the problems of national unity and prosperity the thought and knowledge and experience which have since become available, ready to break with the traditions of the past where it might seem necessary to do so, inspired by the hope that their work might help in the giving to South Africa once again of a

clear statement of its national problems and a balanced scheme for the solution of them. The procedure followed has been, after preliminary discussion on matters of principle, to apportion the various subjects proposed to be dealt with each to one or two members, to discuss as a group drafts submitted by those members, and then to remit the drafts to the writers for revision in the light of the discussion. The result is that the Studies in this book reflect a general group point of view, although in each case the sole responsibility for the views expressed lies with the actual writer or writers. It has not been considered necessary, or indeed desirable, to secure the agreement of all the members of the group to the details of every proposal or statement. It is unfortunate that Mr. Rheinallt Jones, owing to absence overseas, has been unable to attend the meetings of the group. His participation in the work has therefore, apart from certain preliminary discussions, been limited to the Study which appears under his name.

When first the group was constituted, it was agreed that the inquiry should be entirely free from party bias, and therefore be divorced from association of any kind with any of the existing party organisations ; the members came together, neither knowing nor caring what their associates' party affiliations might be. But, almost immediately after the project had been initiated, the present writer accepted an invitation to become a candidate for Parliament in the South African Party interest. It was recognized that this

created a position which might be regarded as not being in accord with the conception of the group, and the situation was very fully discussed. Eventually it was decided that he should continue to participate in the work of the group, though in a special position of " free association." He has in fact been present at all discussions, but, lest his party affiliations should have the effect of embarrassing either the group or himself, it has been understood that, save in respect of the Study to which his name is attached, he is not committed to the specific views expressed in the book. That reservation is, since he was during the last Parliamentary Session a member of the Select Committee on the Prime Minister's Native Bills, particularly applicable to any proposals or comments which bear on the subject-matter of those Bills.

This book may then be considered as an attempt on the part of the authors to take stock of the position of the Union in the year of its coming of age. The attempt has been prompted by a sense of prevailing *malaise* in South Africa, of dissatisfaction with things as they are ; its aim has been the formulation, admittedly tentative, of broad principles of policy for the building up of a united and prosperous nation.

How best may one analyse the causes of our present discontents ? Of their existence there is no lack of evidence, not least being the dissatisfaction with the present lines of party division, and the manifest desire to create new political units in substitution for, or by way of addition to, those that exist to-day. It would

be natural to look for the explanation in the ruling economic distress. In common with other countries South Africa is suffering from over-production and the restriction of credit; the farmers cannot find a market for their produce, and the depressed condition of agriculture is communicating itself to other sections of the community. But the causes of the *malaise* go far deeper than the depression of trade—it was already in evidence when the wave of prosperity was still at its height. The sense of uneasiness, of uncertainty, has been strengthened and extended, it has not been created, by the conditions of the immediate present.

There are perhaps three chief factors that may be distinguished to account for this sense of uneasiness. First there are delays that have arisen in the attainment of true national union. Certainly the expectations which attended the birth of the "new nation" in 1910 have again and again been deferred, and the deferment of hope has played its part in making men's hearts sick. The Convention laid the foundations of the temple of national unity—and there seemed to be no lack of enthusiasm to secure its speedy completion. But the work still remains unfinished. There has been many an unforeseen hindrance to delay it. Acts of God we may perhaps call some of them. But sometimes also the craftsmen have been untrue to the spirit in which the enterprise was conceived. They have slackened speed in the laying of the bricks—sometimes even they have pulled down what had been built before. And to-day, as far as the external appearance of the structure

is concerned, there is little more to be seen than there was in 1910. Happily this is not all that there is to be said. Though there are few obvious signs of progress for the casual observer to mark, yet there has been real advance in the task of broadening and deepening the foundations, upon which Dutch and British may the more easily be made to cohere in strength and beauty. But of the significance of that part of the work most men are unaware. They are conscious rather of the emphasis which continues to be laid on the separateness of the two elements, of the strengthening of the consciousness of distinctiveness, of the revival, ever and anon, of old controversies, of the fires that still glow beneath the uncertain ashes. And that consciousness has aroused apprehension chiefly among English-speaking South Africans, apprehension which is quickened by the observation of the waning influence of the English language and of men of English speech, and the waxing of Afrikaans and men of Afrikaans speech, apprehension and doubt as to their own future and the future of their children in South Africa. There is no need here to state how little solid ground there is for such apprehensions—it is enough that they exist, and, while they exist, national unity remains an ideal rather than a fact; until a better understanding is created, and dispels them, the spirit of the nation cannot be at harmony with itself.

To increase this disquietude of spirit there has come the realisation that all is not well with the economic structure of the Union. To most of us South Africans

it used to be an article of faith that ours is a rich country, a country of vast mineral resources and boundless agricultural possibilities, a country of cheap and plentiful labour, a country waiting to open its stores of wealth to all who would but utter the appointed pass-word. Gradually the fallacies in these beliefs have by bitter experience been borne in upon us. We have learnt that, though nature has set great store of mineral wealth in the depths of South Africa's soil, she has balanced her generosity by the disabilities which she has imposed upon the agricultural exploitation of the first few inches of that soil. We have learnt that, though in relation to the stage of advancement at present attained there is no lack of opportunity of agricultural development, the path of that development is beset with many an obstacle, difficulty, and disappointment. We have learnt that the very cheapness of the available labour carries with it an insidious threat. Of the importance of the mining industry for their country's welfare in the past and in the present South Africans are fully conscious ; the knowledge that the gold of the Witwatersrand is a waning asset, the recurrent closing down of mines, big producers in the past, the probability of an early decline in the output—the spectres which these things conjure up often haunt their minds. To-day the gold-mining industry is of fundamental importance to South Africa's economic life, but it cannot continue to bear the burden indefinitely. Other foundations—in agriculture and secondary industry—must be built

up to take its place. But agricultural wealth is in South Africa no easy oyster for men's opening, and the limited nature of the home markets impedes the growth of manufacturing industry. Progress is being made in both respects, but is it being made fast enough, and are the lines of progress sound? It is a race against time upon which South Africa will be engaged during the next twenty years. Can it retard sufficiently the decline of gold mining? Can it accelerate sufficiently the advance of the other activities that must take its place? It is not easy to return affirmative answers with conviction, and so apprehension grows in men's minds, and doubts as to whether the politicians, immersed as they seem to be in fruitless controversies, are doing all that they might to redeem the future, and fear of what time in its working may possibly bring.

And then for the further troubling of men's minds has come the oppression of the presence of what European South Africa regards as its black cloud—the native with his numerical superiority of three to one. A generation ago men gave little thought to the problems of the relations between white man and black. The military power of the Bantu had been broken, he had been forced into subjection, he was giving his labour with docility and submission—and so the Europeans could devote all their attention to disputes among themselves. But in our day the man in the street or on the farm has become alive to the existence of a native problem; an election has been

fought on the issue of " the native menace," and the phrase has come to be part of his thinking ; he is conscious of the creation, seemingly endless, of poor whites, a by-product, as he views it, of the presence of the native ; the future relationship between the races is never for long absent from his mind. For the most part as he thinks of that relationship, as he considers the advancement of the black man, his thoughts are thoughts of fear, fear not of being overwhelmed physically, but fear lest his position should be undermined in far more subtle ways. He fears the penetration of the low-paid native further and further into the economic sphere. He fears the growth of native political rights and the possibility that in time numbers will tell in the government of South Africa. He fears above all that native development will lead to social equality, to race-mixture, to the drowning of the white man in a black ocean. The native—the savage, cruel, wily foe of the past, whom he, the white man, has crushed into submission—will he not do him some evil even yet? He has bruised the serpent's head, but will not the serpent perhaps yet bruise his heel? And what of the enmity between his seed and its seed? Fear, apprehension, doubts as to his children's future in this, their only homeland, the anxiety lest some day " little brown children will play among the ruins of the Union Buildings "—from the shadows that these things bring the South African in our day does not find it easy to escape.

The authors of this book have faced up to these fears and apprehensions and all that they imply. They have not sought to minimize them. They have recognized that a widely-prevalent apprehension, even when its foundations are insubstantial, is an important factor in a nation's life. But, while they have taken full account of the facts of our present discontents, they have not thereby been weakened in their confidence in the future of their country. The examination of the conditions which are the cause of the nation's present state of mind has revealed to them the magnitude of South Africa's task, but it has not destroyed their confidence in its capacity for the achievement of it. They regard the very endurance of hardness for which these conditions call as an earnest of the greatness which is laid in store for it.

In their approach to the consideration of South Africa's problems they have felt that the consummation of national union, the attainment of a true unity of spirit, is still fundamental, and to it they have given their first attention. For that unity there is needed before all else perfect frankness. The deliberate disregard of the facts of difference, the crying of peace where there was no peace, may have had its value at certain periods of South Africa's history; to-day what South Africa needs is, first, the admission of the fact that in the past there has been conflict and strife in respect of which neither element is free from blame, then the recognition of present differences of tradition and inheritance and sentiment, the acknowledgment that the maintenance

of these distinctive heritages should prove to be for the enrichment of the nation, and, finally, the adoption as goal of a unity of spirit which bases itself on perfect equality and on the willing rendering and acceptance of the contributions which either section has to bring to the greater whole. In the past South Africans have thought—and certainly it was not unnatural that it should be so— in terms of the *rights* of the two sections, the status which they should severally occupy. It were well if in the future the prevailing thought would rather be of the *contributions* which they can severally render. If then full unity of spirit is to be attained in our national life, it must be based upon a proper appreciation of the spiritual contributions which either element is fitted to bring to the nation's life. That is the first step. Upon it there must follow an equal partnership, entered into in perfect frankness, based on the whole-hearted recognition on either side of the language, the sentiments, and the traditions of the other, and deriving its cohesive force from the growing consciousness of spiritual community. But this also will not be enough. Important as is a correct attitude of mind for national unity, more is required. Such unity is not created in a day—its consolidation must needs be the outcome of a lengthy process. For salvation works also will be necessary. The nation in action—there will be found the effective cause of unity of spirit. It is by working together, by advancing jointly upon the problems, on the solution of which

our future depends, that we in South Africa shall give vigour and triumphant vitality to the spirit of national unity.

These are the conceptions that underlie this book—the shifting of the emphasis in the complex of Dutch-British relations from rights and status to contributions, and the consolidation of national unity in action through a co-operative attack on national problems. In these conceptions surely there is great hope for the future—the greater when one reflects how already in practice they are coming to be exemplified in that new spirit of alertness of mind, of the intellectual honesty that triumphs over ingrained prejudice, which is being evidenced by South Africa's undergraduate youth to-day. In the spirit of these conceptions the writers of this book have examined more specifically the distinctive contributions which the two national elements can severally make ; in this spirit also, after a consideration of South Africa's relations with the British Commonwealth and with the states lying to the north of it in its own continent of Africa, the emphasis being laid on the contributions which in either case it can make as a united nation, they have reviewed some of its outstanding tasks and problems.

Chief of these are the problems, political and economic, which arise from the meeting together in South Africa of races at different standards of civilization, the task of making South Africa safe for European civilization without paying the price of dishonour to the highest ideals of that civilization, of determining

how white man and black shall live together within its borders in peace and harmony and to their common advantage. The writers of this book have felt that these are matters which should not simply be viewed as aspects of a detached " native problem " ; they have sought to see them in their wider setting, and so to suggest the closeness with which the interests of black men and white are interwoven. White South Africa has thought all too much in the past of the Bantu as a competitor in the struggle for existence ; it might with more profit think of him as a helper, a co-worker in the task of development. It has seen the black cloud merely as a menace ; it has been blind to the promise which it holds forth of aid and succour in making fat the land. There are those to whom the suggestions made may seem to err on the side of magnanimity to the black man ; they should consider them rather as perhaps the only way of saving the white man. " Magnanimity in politics," said Burke once, " is not seldom the truest wisdom." Those words have a special bearing on the South Africa of to-day.

So the writers have gone on to suggest a national economic policy, seeking in the process to find the means of strengthening and confirming the props which will be called upon to uphold South Africa's economic structure at no distant date. They have refused to concern themselves overmuch with fossilized terms or with shibboleths which tend to obscure real issues, and have sought rather to suggest a policy which springs from South African conditions and is

adapted to South African needs. They have taken due account of present difficulties and discouragements, and they believe that along the lines which they have indicated success may be achieved. But they realize that nature has not marked out for South Africa a broad and easy path to prosperity. Its attainment will be dependent on unremitting labour, co-operative effort, and the diversion to this field of energies which have in the past been dissipated in controversies long since profitless and outworn.

With that same dominating belief in the need for co-operative effort as the means to national unity, the remaining Studies in this book have been written. They deal with themes, important in themselves, though relatively less urgent than those which have been mentioned specifically. They indicate lines along which, it is thought, work of real significance for South Africa's future can be done. They mark out a field of activity for the nation in action.

The nation in action — therein is implied the suggestion which this book is intended chiefly to convey. So far the South African nation has not been spared the disabilities of youth. It has endured its growing pains, it has sown its wild oats, it has passed through the toil and labour of adjustment and adaptation. But now it is coming of age, and as it attains to maturity, though it may be expected to put away childish things, and to experience the sense of power which comes from the consolidation of its strength, it does not yet say farewell to youth. It is

still blessed with youth's enthusiasm, its passion, its spirit of adventure. To the young nation, as to the young man, maturity presents a challenge, in so far as it calls upon it to determine the manner in which these gifts of youth shall be used. It is along the lines of action, rightly-directed, clear-sighted, providing scope for its strength and satisfaction for its idealism, that the challenge may be met. The nation in action will become the nation at harmony with itself, the nation conscious of progress in the fulfilment of its tasks, the nation worthily serving the cause of humanity. In all humility this book is offered as a contribution to the attainment of that ideal.

SECTION I.

POLITICAL.

Chapter I.

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALITY:

Its Meaning, Possibilities and Limitations.

By R. F. Currey and T. J. Haarhoff.

On the 31st May, 1910, the Union of South Africa was formally proclaimed and, so far as ink and paper could make it one, South Africa became a Nation. The date was significant, for it was the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Vereeniging. What was perhaps even more remarkable was that it was only eight short years since the close of what we can now look back upon as the most melancholy passage in our history—the War of 1899–1902.

Renan once defined a nation as consisting of those who " have done great things together and desire to do more of them." The definition may not be a very exact one, but one has only to think, for instance, of Switzerland, of Ireland, and of the Jews to realize at once how immensely difficult it is to find any form of words sufficiently comprehensive to cover all the nations with which we are familiar to-day. No definition based on geographical or political considerations can be an adequate one ; nor does community of race, language or religion, or any combination of these, afford us any clue to what we are seeking.

The difficulty, however, is less important than it may seem. It is also of a kind with which we are familiar. We all know, for instance, what we mean by the British Empire, yet no dictionary definition of "empire" would describe in the least accurately what we mean when we speak of it. Renan's definition is of great value for one reason at any rate: by using the word "desire" he makes it clear that the basis of nationality is to be sought, not in any external or material tie, but in the hearts and minds of the men and women who form the nation. The nation, in fact, is not a fortuitous grouping of individuals, but is itself a spiritual reality. And when we speak of the South African Nation (leaving aside for the moment the question whether that nation is already in being or still in process of becoming) most people will understand us to mean those persons who have come to South Africa from overseas, or are the descendants of others who have done so. But at the very outset we shall find ourselves confronted with what may well be a fundamental objection. "How," it will be asked, "can you speak of the South African Nation when you expressly exclude three-fourths of those whose homes are in South Africa?" Whilst recognizing the weight of the objection we must for the moment postpone consideration of it, though it will be referred to at a later stage of this chapter. Quite clearly, no discussion of South African Nationality which fails to take account of the Native and Coloured peoples, and the part they have to play in the national life, can be anything but

one-sided and hopelessly incomplete. Equally clearly, to treat of them as full " nationals " would be merely to be blind to the facts as they are to-day. The most enthusiastic protagonist of a " White South Africa " would not deny that these peoples, too, in some sense at least are South Africans. Their most ardent champion would admit that until real national unity has been achieved between the two European races the question of the extent to which the Native and Coloured peoples are members of the nation must be held over.

The whole idea of nationality is itself subject to two important limitations. In the first place the idea is a relatively recent one. The Roman conception of the civilised world was a girdle of lands about the Mediterranean, surrounded by fair-skinned barbarians to the north and darker peoples to the east, with the trackless deserts of Arabia and the Sahara to the south and the trackless Atlantic to the west, and with Rome the centre of the whole. This idea was so firmly implanted in men's minds that it persisted for many centuries after the political power of the Roman Empire had passed into oblivion. Readers of Mr. Shaw's *St. Joan* will remember how neatly the French Bishop scores off the English Baron, who is pointing out that there is a new spirit abroad, which best can be described as " Protestantism," by reminding the feudal lord that the new spirit is stirring not only in the religious world : the common soldiers of both armies are beginning to speak of themselves as Frenchmen and Englishmen. Indeed the whole conception of nationality is intimately

bound up with the twin movements which we call the Renaissance and the Reformation, whether as cause or effect we need not now stay to consider.

To realize that the idea of nationality is a relatively recent one brings us more than half-way to recognizing the second way in which the idea is limited. The nation is only one of several human groups or associations, on each of which at different periods the main emphasis has been laid. It is only one link in the chain which begins with the family and includes the tribe and the clan, the city state of the ancient world and mediaeval conception of Universal Church and Universal Empire, to mention only a few. Moreover, we have no right to suppose that it is (though in these days men often speak as if it were) the final and most comprehensive form of human association. It is very important for us of the newer nations to recognize this. The Great War and its far-reaching effects acted as a ferment in the minds of men the world over, quickening everywhere the latent seeds of nationalism. To-day there is scarcely a corner of the earth which does not include amongst its inhabitants a band of zealous "nationalists." But in the meantime in the older countries where full nationhood was achieved three or four centuries ago, after a series of bitter struggles, the more enlightened minds have for ten years been turned towards the idea of larger and more comprehensive groups which shall include, but not supersede, the nations as these exist to-day ; and the first faltering, difficult steps have already been taken. All-important,

of course, in the political sphere is the formation of the League of Nations, and South Africa would be blind and more than blind to her national duty if her citizens grew to feel that her national life and the welfare of the League were not intimately related. But it is not only in the political sphere that men are now feeling, for the first time almost since the barriers were put up, that a narrow existence within the limits of those old barriers is no longer desirable. It is not without significance, for instance, that the decade which has seen the formation of the League of Nations has also seen the stirrings of a great desire in men's minds to bring about a reunion of divided Christendom. When Mazzini wrote that " a nation is a living task, her life is not her own," he was ahead of the ideas of his time : but in these days we are beginning to realize the meaning of his words.

Necessary as it is to recognize that the conception of nationality is subject to these limitations, it remains true that the nation to-day is the most significant of all the groups into which mankind is divided. No one who has lived through the first quarter of the Twentieth Century is likely to dispute that nationality is a force, for good or evil, in human life, whose strength can scarcely be exaggerated. The generality of men and women think of themselves to-day first as French or English, German or Canadian, even before they think of themselves as divided into Workers and Capitalists, Jews and Gentiles, or any other of the great divisions which separate man from man. The empha-

sis, as we have said, appears to shift at different periods to different types of group ; and to-day it is laid most strongly on the nation. There is probably some reason to think that this phase is passing, or beginning to pass, without our realizing what is happening. But in one sense at least the nation is not merely *an* important, but *the* important group in the present era ; for it is the only one which claims and exercises full sovereignty over its members and has developed the necessary sanctions for enforcing that sovereignty. Whatever the future holds, it remains true that in the doing of the work of the world of to-day, and in the building up of the world of to-morrow, it is on national groups that the burden and the responsibility fall, and will fall.

What then is a nation ? Ideally considered, it is a group of men and women consciously united together by certain essential things : a love of the land itself in which we live ; the consciousness that our physical needs and protection are secured by union ; a pride in the achievements of the nation as a whole, or of its individual members, in the past ; the comfortable sense that our habits of life and thought and our standards of judgment (particularly our moral judgments) are substantially the same as those of our neighbours. "A city state," says Plato, "is *one* when its members say 'mine' and 'not mine' with reference to the same things." Whatever material and economic necessities have brought the nation into existence, in its final and ideal form the nation is a

spiritual, as well as a material, unity. And the spirit of the nation is what concerns us in South Africa: for the material and economic arguments for national unity are too obvious to need re-statement, and the proper handling of our economic problems is dealt with elsewhere in these studies.

But, although a healthy national life depends on a fundamental unity of thought and feeling in essential matters, it would be a mistake to suppose that there must be in all matters a flat uniformity of sentiment. In the ideal nation there is plenty of room for keen political controversy. It is not our quarrels so much as the things we quarrel about that matter; and what is really important is that there should be a whole body of subjects on which we do *not* quarrel. And we must agree to avoid quarrelling on these subjects, not merely because we do not wish to hurt other people's feelings or are unwilling to re-open old sores, but because on those subjects we really are at one in head and heart. We do not fear for the domestic bliss of a household merely because we hear that there is an acute difference of opinion about the right position of the rugs in the drawing room, or the proper treatment of the herbaceous border, but we are really uneasy when we hear that there are quarrels over the children and the mothers-in-law. The Party system seems to be an integral and valuable part of the national life, certainly in those countries which, like South Africa, have inherited their Parliamentary institutions practically without change from those of Great Britain. From

time to time moments of grave national peril will no doubt arise when all patriotic people will sink their party differences. But, in getting the ordinary day-to-day work of the nation done, argument, dispute and controversy are, and are likely to remain, the accepted method. Indeed, Parliamentary institutions presuppose the Party system. But here again it is not the existence of opposing Parties that matter ; the danger is that the line of cleavage may be such as itself to weaken or destroy the spiritual unity of the nation. It is almost a century since Disraeli foresaw a day when there might be two nations in England, one of the rich and another of the poor. When parties represent racial, religious or class divisions, as so often and in so many countries they do, then it is that the national unity is being imperilled. But the life of the nation is not weakened, but directly enriched and widened, by keen political controversies between Conservatives (whatever their local name may be) whose eyes are on the past and its lessons, and who are ever reminding us that if we expect too much of human nature we are likely to be disappointed, and Liberals, who see always the infinite possibilities in ordinary men and women and whose answer to the Conservative " Go steady " is a confident " Go forward." Ideally the line of cleavage between parties would be a temperamental one : we should be agreed about the ends we are seeking, we shall always differ hotly about the means of securing them.

After twenty years of Union we find ourselves asking "How far has this inner, spiritual national unity been achieved in our own land?" To say that the progress made has been disappointing, that the high hopes of 1910 have not yet been realized, to admit even that in some ways the two races have drifted further apart than they seemed to be during those halcyon days, is not to despair of South Africa. Nor is it to belittle the work of the fathers of our Constitution, who wrestled and wrought so manfully with their stupendous task. Indeed, one has only to read again the story of those days, when our small South African stage was filled with the figures of De Villiers and Steyn, Botha and Merriman, to feel a thrill of truly national pride. They could not know that within five years of the consummation of their labours South Africa, along with all the nations of the earth, was to be cast into the furnace of the Great War, in which it was to be submitted to strains and stresses that destroyed the entire foundation of many nations and left none unchanged.

But, even when this is allowed for, we cannot help feeling that at the time of Union things were done in the prevailing enthusiasm which overlooked profound differences between the two sections of the people. There was, indeed, at the time an important group or groups in the four colonies. For a while the battle raged hotly between those who stood for Federation and the supporters of the Unitary eystem. But the forces of the Federationists were divided (it was perhaps in the nature of things that

they should be), and their case was unhappily presented. Given a leader of outstanding ability, they could have put forward a powerful plea for caution, and forced the National Convention to pause and consider how deep were the cleavages still dividing the people. When Natal is accused, as in these days it sometimes is accused, of taking a too provincial view, it should always be remembered that at the Convention Natal brought forward a proposal for a Federal system (a proposal which certainly implied a fuller recognition of the facts of difference then prevailing in the South African People, than did the Unitary Constitution which the Convention ultimately adopted), which was defeated by the unanimous vote of the delegates of the other colonies. In the end Natal decided to submit the question of whether or no she should enter into the Union to a referendum of the whole colony, and in the campaign that followed divers forms of cajolery and exhortation were brought into play to induce the people of Natal to take their place alongside of the other colonies. However strong the arguments for Federation may have been, considered in the light of after events, it is clearly neither desirable nor possible to adopt that system now. Like Omar Khayyam we have to try " to grasp this sorry scheme of things entire," and no more than he could can we now " shatter it to bits, and then remould it nearer to the heart's desire." Disruptive changes are impossible ; mere despair leads only to indifference, and a policy of drift, which is worse than making mistakes : is there then no line of

action which it behoves all men of good will and good sense in South Africa to follow? We believe there is; but the road to discovering it is neither easy nor short. Our vision, the vision of both sections of our people, is clouded by ancient, deep-rooted prejudices, and we have to hack our way through a great dead weight of ignorance, often culpable ignorance; and before we can hope to accomplish anything constructive we must realize that our first need is for solid, painstaking, clear, hard thinking. We cannot solve a problem without knowing exactly what the problem is. Wherein and why have we failed to accomplish national union? What are the steps we must take now to succeed where we have failed since 1910?

We must at this point be on our guard against a very common mistake. The troubles and dissensions which arise in South Africa from our racial divisions are so great, so obvious, and so difficult of solution, that few of us ever pause to consider how great are the divisions imposed by geography. We may reasonably hope for the disappearance of our racial divisions: the geographical divisions are permanent by comparsion. It is surprising to most of us to learn that Cape Town is as far from Pretoria as London is from Rome or Warsaw. But if distance were the only difficulty the problem would be a relatively small one. Improvements in physical means of communication would soon solve it, and may be said to be solving it already. Distance, however, is the smallest part of the problem. The facts of geography have divided life in South

Africa, and the forms it assumes, along three other lines which cut far deeper than this. In the part of the country comprising Cape Town and its immediate hinterland, with all its historical associations and its wonderful beauty, there are reproduced faithfully and exactly in all details the climatic conditions of the Mediterranean lands. The Cape has never failed to exercise an extraordinary charm on any alert and cultured traveller who has visited it. Francis Drake found it "a most stately thing and the fairest cape we have seen in the whole circumference of the earth," and thousands have echoed his verdict since. One cannot move through any part of the Cape Peninsula, or the Paarl, or Stellenbosch, or Caledon without seeing all round one the things that filled the mind of Virgil when he was writing the Georgics, or of the writer of the 104th Psalm. For familiar geographical reasons the climatic conditions prevailing along the Mediterranean littoral and in California, Central Chile, and South-Western Australia are found also in the South-Western Cape, but they do not, and never can, occur elsewhere in South Africa. If one were to talk to a child in the Cape Peninsula and another whose home is in Johannesburg, one would discover that so fundamental a phrase as "winter and summer" stood for two almost entirely different sets of ideas in the two minds.

There is, however, a second line of division which geography has drawn across the map of South Africa. As the train carries us through the horseshoe bend of

the Hex River Pass and we climb up to Matjesfontein, we find ourselves on the great South-East African plateau which runs the full length of the Union, through the Rhodesias, to the Great Lakes and the Sudan. The differences in the conditions of life between the High Veld and the Coastal Belt are familiar enough to those who have lived in both, but it may be doubted whether we fully realize how greatly this must affect our national development. It may well in time affect our national physique. If one considers the more famous names amongst our Rugby footballers it will be found that already there is a tendency for the backs to come from the Cape and the forwards from the Transvaal !

And thirdly, since despite any possible decisions of the South African or any other Parliament the world revolves as it does, it follows that between the East and West of this country there are differences of climatic conditions, which are found elsewhere of course, but in no one country reaching such wide extremes. It is clearly impossible to suppose that the North-West Cape and the Karoo can produce a national type similar in all ways to that produced in the subtropical parts of Natal. If it be true that all healthy patriotism is rooted in a love of the soil, as we have suggested, clearly here in South Africa, where " the soil " takes such manifold forms, our task is a hard one.

It may well be, as we have said, that these differences of physical conditions may in the long run prove to be even more formidable than our present racial

divisions. But surely our attitude to both should be the same. The differences should be recognized, rather than ignored, and accepted as opportunities for widening and enriching our national life, not as inevitable obstacles to unity. Even so fervent and sane a believer in nationality as Mr. Stanley Baldwin has publicly lamented that it is no longer possible in the House of Commons, as once it was, to tell from a man's speaking voice what part of the country he represented. It is not by minimizing or slurring over our differences, or pretending that these do not exist, that we shall achieve true unity. That method has been tried in the past, and indeed some of the greatest South Africans have often seemed to suggest that it was the path of true wisdom. At the time of Union it was the prevailing spirit, and much of what was accomplished then was due to it. We would suggest that it is neither cynical nor pessimistic to assert that it has been responsible for not a few of our sorrows since.

It is indeed the main purpose of this study of South African nationality to show that a method the exact opposite of this is what is really needed. We have to be reminded afresh that, if we would not be "false to any man," or to the nation as a whole, we must "first to our own selves be true." It is not by neglecting and abandoning those things peculiar to each of the two sections, but by cherishing and developing them to the full, that we are going to have anything worth contributing to our joint nationality. A national

spirit developed *in vacuo* is impossible to contemplate, and if it were possible it would be a monstrous thing. One sometimes comes across individuals whose personalities seem to owe nothing to anything outside of themselves; and the type is not an attractive or inspiring one. These people are, as they like to put it, "self-made"; and a certain aggressive independence of outlook hardly compensates for the arrogance and intolerance of all opinions but their own, which is characteristic of the type. They are, in the happy French phrase, *déracinés*—people without any roots. And, as with the individual, so here with the nation. The roots are what matters, reaching deep down into history, tough to hold their ground against the erosive effect of changing external conditions. The nation which has lost all interest in its past, it has been said, will have a future not worth being interested in.

General Hertzog, speaking at De Wildt in 1912, foresaw a period of development for the infant South African Nation during which its national life would flow in "two streams"; and the phrase has become famous. Round it there raged a hot controversy, and it was fiercely attacked as being hostile to the spirit that had achieved political Union, and by which alone, it was asserted, the two races could hope to achieve unity of spirit. But was not General Hertzog in a sense pointing out a valuable truth and really right after all? He might have carried the simile a little further and pointed out that streams flow according to laws over which they themselves have no control, and

that we should find, if only we had the patience to wait, that in South Africa, as elsewhere, " even the weariest river winds somewhere safe to sea." And he might have added, moreover, that by an inexorable physical law even the most turbulent and uncontrolled of mountain torrents must descend until somewhere in the plains it finds its own level—surely a salutary experience for both streams of which the South African Nation is composed.

Let us for a moment consider the two streams separately. It is sometimes asserted that the English South African falls short of his national duty through trying to preserve " an impossible dual loyalty." But to assert this is to seek to maintain that there is a limit to the love and loyalty and affection of which the human heart is capable—a miserable doctrine of which the lives of the saints and heroes of all ages and of all lands form the unanswerable refutation. The English South African who has grown to feel that the whole storied past of England means nothing to *him*, who can stand—a traveller from afar—in Westminster Abbey or Windsor Castle, on a Sussex down or by a Westmoreland lake, and not feel that in a very real sense all these are still in part *his*, who has forgotten that to him freedom is a precious thing because he and his

> . . . . speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held,

the man who, consciously or through neglect, has done this, has not only madly cast away a priceless heritage,

but, just in so far as he has done it, is so much the worse a South African. Having it in his power to give much to South Africa, he makes her a poor and worthless offering; and in saying this we still maintain that for a South African citizen the interests of South Africa should come first.

That, we believe, is the chief contribution which English South Africans have to make to South Africa—the handing on of all that is best and noblest in the English tradition, its practical genius for government, its art and its literature, its humour and its love of games, and as much as any of these that creative instinct in English people which makes an English home, whether in hall or cottage, an abiding place of the spirit. But we should be unjust to the memory of those English South Africans who have lived and worked here in South Africa before our day, if we were to belittle the positive value to our national life of their labours in the land of their adoption. It is easy enough to-day to sit in judgment on the administrators and soldiers who toiled for a strenuous half-century and more in defence of the Eastern Frontier of the Cape; it is not altogether certain that we should have done better ourselves in days when knowledge was necessarily slight, communication difficult, and resources scanty. We cannot say of every South African problem, as can be said of the Eastern Frontier, that its final solution has been found along lines that are in the main just and lasting. Nor can we forget the services to South Africa of English missionaries

and English merchants, nor all that English capital, brains and enterprise have done in helping to lay the material foundations of the South African Nation.

And what of those who form the other stream? We might remind ourselves that they, too, have a heritage to be firmly held and tenderly cherished. For are they not sprung from the stock that withstood Philip and Alva, and sailed the wide seas as masters in the proud days of the Company, and who count as their own the genius of Rembrandt and Vermeer? And yet as we write of these things we know that we have told only a part, and that the less important part, of what there is to be said.

For there is this great difference between the two sections of the South African people: the tie of English South Africans with England has been strong, effective, and continuous, and we have tried to show reason why it is of the first importance that it should remain so, whilst the tie of Dutch South Africans with Holland has always been uncertain, ineffective, and exposed to constant interruption. In spite of recent attempts to foster a renewed connection, the South African of Dutch descent lays far less emphasis on his overseas tradition than his English compatriots do, and, as we believe, should continue to do, on theirs. For purely physical reasons the life of the free burghers at the Cape was isolated from the life and thought of Europe, and the population of the settlement found themselves thrown back on their own resources. For more than a century now the break between Holland

and South Africa has been almost complete, and, though this has meant real loss to life as it is lived in South Africa, it has not been without compensating gain. Great as the loss has been, we do not hesitate to say that the gain very greatly outweighs it.

Before, however, attempting to examine what this gain is and wherein it lies and to assess its value, it is necessary to add an important qualification to what has just been said. There has been one very close tie between Holland and South Africa ; for, as everyone knows, the legal system of the Union is based on the Roman-Dutch law which was operative in Holland until superseded there by the Code Napoléon. It is difficult to exaggerate the effect of this on the life of our people. Without subscribing to Juvenal's genial dictum that Africa is merely the *nutricula causidicorum*, no one who knows South Africa can help noticing that the study and practice of the law appear to exert an extraordinary attraction for the abler and more vigorous minds amongst both sections of our people, and more particularly for those of Dutch descent. Some of us indeed are inclined to complain that this legal pre-occupation has not been an unmixed blessing and that its effect has been to arrest the growth and development of other intellectual interests. Be that as it may : when South Africa points with pride, as well she can, to the justice and wisdom of the law as it is administered amongst us, and to the respect and admiration felt for the great names amongst our Judges even in other lands, it

must be remembered that here at any rate the debt of South Africa to Holland remains a great one. Nor is it the only debt of the kind : we need only think, for instance, of the influence throughout South Africa of the use for two and a half centuries of the Nederlands version of the Bible.

We pass on now to consider the other, and as we believe, greater part of the contribution which Afrikaans-speaking, or as it is often called, "Afrikaner" South Africa, has to make to our joint nationality. At the outset we must note that this is something not brought from overseas, but brought to birth after sore travail in South Africa itself. In recent years there has been a tendency to speak of "Afrikanerdom" in many varied connections, and there is some danger that we may be allowing our minds to be clouded by the use of a term whose meaning we do not clearly understand. It is natural that this should be so, for new spiritual facts at first invariably outrun the resources of language to express them—which is one of the reasons why prophets are stoned in their own generation. But however uncertain and vague the expression of Afrikanerdom may still sometimes be in the mouths of those who would be its exponents, of its reality and power there can be no question. In the main, its roots lie in that consciousness of great achievements in the past, which at the beginning of this chapter we agreed to regard as the hall-mark of nationality. The whole epic of Afrikanerdom, from Van Riebeeck to Vereeniging,

remains to be fully written, and surely no nation could offer its poets a more inspiring theme. In many respects the story is a unique one, just as, we believe, the type of national character hammered out on that hard anvil is unique. It not only produced manliness, patience and courage (and when the old Free State adopted "Geduld en Moed" as the motto of the Republic they were entitled to do so, not as a pious aspiration, but as a tribute to the men who had made the Republic possible), but it also produced a type of religious temperament which seems to be really unique in modern history. If one wishes to find a parallel to the faith of the Afrikaans-speaking South African of the last century, in its simplicity and reality and its profound sense of the Being of God, one has to point to the Hebrew people themselves. Indeed, the parallel to be drawn between the history of the two peoples is so close that it is not surprising to find that the Afrikaans-speaking people and their Church have always laid an emphasis on the teaching of the Old Testament which is unusual amongst other Christian communities.

It would be possible to paint the picture in fuller detail, but to most of those at any rate who are likely to be reading this the picture is a familiar one, and there is no need to elaborate it. We have touched on what we believe to be the main essentials, and we have done so for a reason that seems to us of the first importance. For, as we had reason to see that if one section is to remain true to itself it must cherish a spiritual tradition

which is still being strengthened and added to, so we now suggest that the essential quality of Afrikanerdom, which must be as jealously guarded as the English tradition, lies mainly in a certain type of human character. Perhaps, if one could see things steadily and see them whole, we might find that this is a distinction without a difference ; but that is a question for the philosophers, and we may safely leave it to them.

It is necessary, perhaps, to guard against a possible misunderstanding at this point. We have suggested that the spirit of Afrikanerdom is a more real thing, and its influence on the lives of Afrikaans-speaking South Africans more effective than the literary expression that has as yet been given to it. The whole Afrikaans language movement is discussed at length elsewhere in these studies, and we are not likely to be accused of wishing to belittle it. Indeed, there is perhaps no movement fraught with more possibilities for good to our national life to-day, but the most ardent champion of Afrikaans would agree that it would be unreasonable to demand of a language, whose writers are still doing the work of pioneers, that it should present us here and now with a complete and effective literary expression of the national spirit. The Afrikaans poets and prose writers themselves, we believe, would be the first to agree that the great work still remains to be done, and that we have to wait patiently and hopefully for the man to do it. Even, however, if the Afrikaner spirit had already, like the English, achieved full literary expression, only a part

of the work would be accomplished. Our great need is that there should arise some one who could explain Afrikanerdom to his fellow English South Africans; and that is why we rejoice so over Colonel Reitz's *Commando*, a tale of stirring adventure and courageous endurance, in which we see the human spirit shining out clear and splendid amidst the misery and evil of war. And that is why we hope some South African who understands both sections of the community will arise to tell young Afrikaners, in Afrikaans, some of the reasons why an English South African mother wishes her children to know and love England.

It may well be objected that all that is said here is sound as far as it goes, and much of it perhaps is mere platitude—but is it to go no further? Are the two streams to flow side by side for ever, without ever mingling their waters, or ever overflowing and joining to bring gladness and plenty to the land that is theirs, or casting at the end their common burden on the ultimate seas? We have already emphasized, and would do so here again, that even ultimate unity does not, and cannot, mean the absorption of either section, and of the ideas it stands for, by the other. Nor does it mean that either section is to be called on to abandon or loosen its hold on those things it holds precious. But, even whilst safeguarding those things peculiar to and characteristic of each section, we believe we may look hopefully to the day when full unity of spirit will be achieved. Did we not do so, neither this study, nor any of those that stand with it, would ever have

been written. For of South Africa we do not and, we believe, we need not despair.

We may admit that the task is a formidable one, and perhaps as formidable to-day as ever it has been. We have suggested that its successful accomplishment depends, first of all, on a proper appreciation of that which is the peculiar possession of each of the two sections, and we have tried to show that in the one case this is mainly a living, spiritual heritage, and in the other mainly a certain type of human character. In other words, the things that are most characteristic of both races are neither of them material things, and it must follow, therefore, as the night the day, that we can no more hope to achieve unity by the exercise of the political power of a majority than we can hope to do so by the use of physical force.

Great as the task is, we believe that the burden of it falls far more heavily on some shoulders than on others. For unity in our view is to be achieved not merely by tolerance and kindliness—that those are needed goes without saying—but by hard, constructive thinking, and the intellectual effort necessary to understand and appreciate and admire all that is best and noblest in the section to which we do not ourselves happen to belong. In particular we feel that the task is one for the young men and women of our Universities. Of course it is not for them exclusively: still less is it one only for consciously clever people. But just as we rightly demand of those endowed with a large share of this world's goods that some of their

wealth should be used in the common interest, so surely we are right to ask of those to whom ability and education have been granted, that these gifts be devoted to the task of seeking the road whereby we may achieve national unity.

A mutual understanding, leading on to mutual appreciation and so to an unreserved partnership on an equal basis, with a pooling of all those spiritual resources of which we have been speaking—that is the goal we have to strive for. That the goal is an attainable one we confidently believe. Already there are amongst us those who as individuals have travelled far along this road. To return to the two-stream metaphor—and remembering that it is a metaphor and therefore must not be pressed too closely—we feel of these people, not so much that it is difficult to say to which stream they belong, but that in them as individuals we see both streams flowing, each clear and distinct. It is possible, as we know, for a man to exclude either stream from his own mental and spiritual life. We may even admit that many South Africans are so situated, geographically or otherwise, that it is difficult for them not to adopt this exclusive attitude. But in so doing, and in so far as they do it, they are limiting their own contribution to South Africa. Where there is at present a negative and exclusive attitude we must hope to see gradually established a positive and comprehensive one. Nor is the task the insuperably difficult one it is sometimes made out to be, as is clear at any rate to those who

have any sympathetic understanding of the South African boys and girls of to-day. So much is made of our differences that we are apt to forget how much we already have in common. Some of these common things fortunately are of the stuff of which our everyday lives are woven—our love of games for instance; and we have only to study in puzzled bewilderment the comic papers of other nations to realise how strong a bond of union we have in a sense of humour that can laugh at the same things.

"Those who have done great things together and desire to do more of them," said Renan. Without boasting we feel we may claim that as a people we have passed the first part of this test of a nation. The trouble, of course, is that so many of the great things done in the past have not been done together, and have often been done in strenuous and bitter opposition. And here we believe there is real urgent call for toleration and mutual forbearance, more particularly with reference to things still within the memory of most of us. Colonel Reitz has shown us that we may be proud of the great deeds done in the war of 1899–1902, as America is proud of both Lee and Grant, without glorying in the war itself.

Can we really claim with equal confidence that we pass the second part of Renan's test also—and let it be remembered that we must desire to do the great things *together*? He would be a bold man who would claim that as a people we do this to-day. The road to achieving this must first be sought in a painstaking

effort to discover what these things are that as a nation we are called upon to do. That, indeed, is why this book is being written, with its attempt to review the whole political, social and economic field. For it is worth while pointing out that our insane preoccupation with politics to the exclusion of other things is not the least of our troubles. South Africa needs statesmen, but she needs artists and scholars, industrialists and craftsmen even more, and if we had enough of these there would be less work for the statesmen to do.

And surely there is confronting us one problem so vast, so complex, and so urgent, as to call forth the very best in head and heart that we as a nation have to offer. At the start of this essay we had to admit that we were going to speak of the South African Nation, and yet were going to deal with only a portion, and the smaller portion, of those who live in South Africa. Elsewhere in this book attempts are made to consider in detail the right principles which should govern the relations of South Africans whose ancestors come from overseas, with those indigenous Africans who have entered South Africa from the North. Here we would only suggest that once our people, of both sections, are determined to tackle this question without prejudice or ignorance, fear or greed, we shall no longer have to ask ourselves why unity has not been achieved.

On this note we would close, and it is not inappropriate to end with the words of a South African whose whole life in the Mission Field has been devoted to seeking a solution of this very problem in its profoun-

dest aspect. He is writing of those little ships that lay in Table Bay when the Cape was merely the Tavern of the Seas, and of the men who sailed aboard them.

" Let them grumble at my climate, let them call me wild and bare,
Though they tarry with me but a single day.
I will lock and bar my portals, my gold they shall not share,
For their hearts are set on treasures of Cathay.

" When they come with spade and mattock, when they bring with them their mates,
When baby fingers pluck my flowers gay,
When they give me sons and daughters, I shall open wide my gates,
And their minds will turn from visions of Cathay.

" When they plant my vales with vineyards, when they crown with spires my slopes,
When for blessings on my fruitful soil they pray,
I shall clasp them to my bosom since on me are set their hopes,
And more I'll give than treasures of Cathay."*

* From "*The Coming of Van Riebeek*" by E. B. Ford.

Chapter II.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE.

A. AFRIKAANS IN THE NATIONAL LIFE.

By T. J. Haarhoff.

For historical reasons of various kinds, it is peculiarly true of South Africa that her problems tend to be regarded either exclusively from the inside, with understanding and experience of the people among whom those problems arose, or exclusively from the outside, from an Empire or a world point of view. These two ways of seeing the situation are not mutually exclusive, but in practice they tend to be sharply divided owing to such factors as race, language and lack of contact; and before we may hope for a full and fruitful co-operation of the two views in regard to the official languages we must acquire a common stock of ideas about them, ideas resting on a foundation of good-will and lit by imagination. This is important: for it is fair to say in regard to Afrikaans that there is nothing in South Africa at present, the misunderstanding of which causes such deep cleavage or of which the sympathetic appreciation has so unifying a power. And a right attitude to Afrikaans, on the part of South Africans, will inevitably produce a right attitude to English.

There are at least five classes of people worth considering in relation to Afrikaans :

A. Those who neither know nor care.

B. Those who do not know, but criticize.

C. Those who do not know, but would co-operate if they did.

D. Those who know and care, but tend to care exclusively for Afrikaans.

E. Those who know and care, but distinguish and co-operate.

A. represents a dwindling class, and all that need be said is that the future will take care of them. " While there's death," the Oxford don remarked, " there is hope " ; but perhaps there remains a *sors tertia*— conversion.

B. Those who do not know, but criticize : these do an immense amount of harm : they haunt the city papers with jibes and worn-out tags : they parade a superiority that rests on half-truths. To them belongs particularly the sort that says : " We know German : we can therefore understand Afrikaans "—a dangerous fallacy ; for though knowledge of German is an aid to Afrikaans and could easily be made effective with a little study, it is often misleading for syntax or vocabulary when used by itself, and can never in itself give an appreciation of Afrikaans literature. That this works the other way too was the discovery of the South African girl who, wanting cream with her tea in Berlin, asked for *room* and found herself presented with a small glass of rum.

But this class embraces all kinds of people (including Hollanders) who view the matter from the outside. It is hard for the town-dweller, especially when fresh from Europe, to see any justification for Afrikaans : only in proportion as he enters into the past and the present of South Africa does he learn to see and sympathize.

In the meantime, even in this year of grace, we still hear people cry "Afrikaans has no grammar." All they really mean is that the grammar of Afrikaans is different from the High Dutch or the English Grammar they learnt at school, and therefore (as they unscientifically think) inferior. They seem to be unaware that the only arbiter in language is custom and that new forms evolve and are established (as Horace says) *si volet usus, quem penes arbitrium est et ius et norma loquendi*. A law of language is not an immutable law of Nature. "But," they say, "the spelling is unsettled." Yet, considering our wide distances, the rules drawn up by the *Suid Afrikaanse Akademie* have produced a remarkable degree of uniformity, and, if the *Akademie* has found a difference of opinion in regard to words of foreign origin[1], it is well to remember that there are many hundreds of words in English whose spelling is ambiguous, as anyone may see by reading the introduction to the Oxford English Dictionary. A curiously simple objection to Afrikaans is that which boils down to a sentimental attachment to the Holland spelling ; yet Holland itself has changed its spelling

[1] See article by D. B. Bosman. *Die Huisgenoot*, 17 January, 1930.

several times, and among the supporters of spelling reform in England may be mentioned the late Poet Laureate and Professor Gilbert Murray.

Occasionally a person of this class will still be heard to remark that Afrikaans is a low patois, that it is a kitchen language. So doubtless did the Anglo-Norman noble describe English in the year 1200; so said the Roman noble in sixth-century Gaul when Latin was breaking up into French[1]. Here ignorance of history is often a difficulty. And ignorance of literary Afrikaans impels some South Africans, who are familiar with the spoken form only (and perhaps some of the early rhymes) to frown on all artistic tendencies in Afrikaans. "Give us the bluff old Boer," they say, "and jolly rhymes about his doings." Thus a South African journal recently blew itself out with indignation because Leipoldt produced a play that stood in the tradition of Ibsen. "There ain't no such animal," they say, looking at literary Afrikaans. But there is also the person who listens to the conversation of servants or labourers in tram or train and measures Afrikaans by their standard; unable or unwilling to study the speech of educated Afrikaners. *And every language has a right to be judged by the standard of its most cultured speakers.*

Those who argue that Afrikaans has no range of vocabulary are often unaware of its original resources, and forget that it is in this respect the legitimate heir of Holland Dutch as well as of Greek and Latin;

[1] See Professor Drennan's *Cockney English and Kitchen Dutch.* (Published by the Council of Education, Johannesburg).

that, like English, it has a right to borrow from any language, and that the real question is not what it borrows but how—that is to say, whether it has enough inner life to adapt what it borrows to its own genius. There is all the difference in the world between the way in which our fathers *incorporated* English words in their speech without *adapting* them, and the way in which Afrikaans to-day stamps its character on what it borrows.

Afrikaans has shown adaptability in making foreign words its own, and by inventing words for new ideas. A vivid word like *vuurhoutjie*, fire-stick, match, is quite unknown in Holland. As regards the total resources of the language it may be noted that Professor J. J. Smith has already collected some 50,000 words. He estimates that if compounds and derivatives are included there are between 80,000 and 100,000 words in Afrikaans.

Misunderstanding often arises because an Afrikaans word resembles an English word. Thus, not long ago, the Afrikaans word *prominent* was described by a newspaper as taken over from English : whereas, of course, it comes through Holland from a common Latin source, and the same applies to very many technical terms that exist in Holland Dutch, and are derived from a Greek or a Latin root, and again to very many words that passed from France to Holland and so to South Africa[1]. These are elementary points :

[1] See J. J. Smith. The Evolution and Recognition of the Afrikaans Language. Union Year Book No. 8, p.15.

yet it is surprising how they confuse and prejudice people's minds.

Then there is the fear, often expressed by this class of person, that by learning Afrikaans they are linguistically isolating themselves. But, as Professor Drennan has pointed out, literature and citizenship apart, a boy trained in Afrikaans has far less difficulty in reading Old English than has an English boy, and it is within the experience of the writer of this essay that three weeks at a German University, coupled with a knowledge of Afrikaans, sufficed to make lectures intelligible. And again the whole literature of Holland is within the reach of the student of Afrikaans after a little practice and training—more particularly as there is at present a marked tendency to draw Dutch and Afrikaans studies more closely together in our schools and in our Universities. It is sometimes forgotten, too, that Afrikaans is now recognized for Matriculation purposes throughout Great Britain, and that it has long been recognized by the Universities of Holland as a medium for Doctoral Theses.

Finally, we may refer to the objection: "You are encouraging a new and unnecessary language." The don who discussed the question at Oxford shuddered at the thought of yet another language, and from his external point of view we understand his shudder. For him and for his circle Afrikaans is a superfluity: for us a spiritual necessity. It is necessary not only as a medium of education—alas for the desert spaces

and the stunted growths that resulted from its denial! —but also as the only possible avenue to unhampered expression and to literary achievement. We who were debarred from spontaneous and intimate writing because English was unnatural and Dutch sounded stilted (even if you did not get lost in a forest of conjugations and declensions), know how much the release has meant[1]. As to the newness, the objector often confuses the recognition of Afrikaans with its historical inception, and forgets that there are respectable parallels for its development. On these it may be appropriate to dwell at this stage.

That Old English dropped its inflectional endings and developed into Middle and then into Modern English by philological laws similar to those that operated in the growth of Afrikaans, is well known, and is referred to in Professor Drennan's essay, *Cockney English and Kitchen Dutch*. The Danish philologist, Jespersen, has pointed out that the progressive Indo-European languages always develop in this way; and it is merely a false analogy to argue that because in the animal world higher organisms are more complex, therefore languages should have more intricate grammatical forms as they grow. Afrikaans has, therefore, developed on modern lines.[2] It is worth noting, too, that though the supremacy of the standard West-Saxon literature was overthrown in England by the Danish invasion and by the Norman Conquest,

[1] See an article on this point in *The Round Table*—Dec. 1928.
[2] Cf. D. B. Bosman in *Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns*. June, 1922.

though learned men used Latin as a medium, and though there followed a strong wave of French influence, native English literature persisted and burst into renewed life with the poetry of Chaucer in the 14th Century. It was Chaucer and the founding of the English Universities that standardized the English of the South. In the same way Afrikaans draws strength from the soil and will be more and more standardized by University usage and the writers it produces.

But there is a more ancient parallel and less well known. When Latin broke up into the Romance languages, it was the language of the people that became the basis of the new literatures. Now popular speech, like poetry, tends to neglect strict grammar: it selects the vivid, the forceful, the objective word; it prefers the living and easily understood phrase[1]. In the same way Afrikaans has deviated strongly from High Dutch grammar, and has formed easily understood words like *hierdie*, *daardie* for Nederlands *deze* and *die*, while for Nederlands *ik ga naar het station* it has the more explicit *ek gaan na die stasie toe*. So, too, when Latin passed into Romance, it selected the strong word *plorare* for weep, rather than *flere*, *lacrimare*, *lamentare* (French *pleurer*). *Plorare* is the regular word in Jerome's *Vulgate*. In Holland *weenen*

[1] See (1) W. Baehrens: *Skizze der Lateinischen Volkssprache* (Neue Wege zur Antike II. 46).
(2) Hoffmann: *Lateinische Umgangssprache* (Teubner, 1925).
(3) Bradley: "*Language*": *The Legacy of Rome* (Oxford, 1923).

has dropped out of ordinary speech and has made way, except in poetical writing, for the forceful and popular *huilēn*, in Germany *weinen* tends to be superseded by *schreien* or *heulen*, and in Afrikaans *huil* has taken the place of *ween* in ordinary speech. And Afrikaans abounds in forceful expressions like *die boere het die pad maḳ gery* (the farmers have ridden the road *tame*), while *beḳ* in spoken Afrikaans applied to a person is parallel to *rostrum* used for *os* in the popular speech of Petronius and Plautus. Again, popular Latin had many diminutives, which appear also in the simple, pellucid lyrics of Catullus, and it was the diminutives that the Romance languages took over: thus *auricula* superseded *auris* and became French *oreille*, and it was not *pulcher* but the diminutive and popular form *bellus* from *duenos* the root of *bonus* (found in Horace's Satires but not in the Odes) that passed into all the Romance languages; and similarly, from the popular speech of Holland very many diminutives passed into Afrikaans (*'n ḳoppie ḳoffie* for Nederlands *'n ḳop ḳoffie*). In late Latin the *h* became everywhere silent (compare the *h* in Italian, French and Spanish), and this has largely happened in Afrikaans with the *h* of an unstressed syllable. Again, words like *filius* and *venio* became disyllables—just as in Afrikaans we have *Pretoors* for *Pretorius*, *Adoons* for *Adonis*, and many more drastic contractions. Further examples will be found in the Appendix to this chapter.

Thus we see the speech of the people pushing its way upwards[1] and developing in Dutch and in Latin on similar psychological and philological principles. A study of Seneca and Petronius alone makes it clear that written Latin was moving further and further from the living, spoken language, which literature disregards at its peril. By the time we come to the Fourth Century A.D., we have many examples of the sterility and artificiality into which the written word had fallen; and it was because the Church Fathers used, largely, the language of the people that fresh inspiration broke through the conventions of writing and paved the way for the national literatures of Europe. Literature cannot do without sincerity and directness. As Harnack points out, it was the writings of the Fathers that became everywhere (as in Syria, in Armenia and among the Goths) a basis for the literary labours of the future. So it is with us. While we tried to write in High Dutch our thoughts were cast in rigid moulds; the wind of inspiration could not blow where it listed; and the result was often second-hand rhetoric. Now, at any rate, we can clothe our thoughts in native form spontaneously and sincerely. The gain is immense.

But here we meet a danger. The leaders of the Church themselves shrank at times from the new style, and Jerome and Augustine realized painfully its

[1] Thus G. F. Bradby (About English Poetry, 1929) notes that "the Cockney mispronunciation of the vowels is likely soon to become general, at least in the Southern half of England."

tendency towards formlessness[1]. They did their best (though with misgivings) to save some of the models of Classical style from the more violent champions of "rusticitas," and, when calmer counsels prevailed, Virgil and Plato were admitted into the Christian schools—an incalculable boon. Later other Latin writers were added, and with the Renaissance came the immense quickening influence of Greece re-born, and the spell of the great Classical writers has been potent perennially in the literatures of Europe. Formlessness is a danger against which Afrikaans writers in their eagerness to be individual will have to guard, and contact with the ever-new inspiration of Classical literature is much to be desired. Those who look forward must at least be aware of the great things in the past: there are things in human effort that may be ancient but can never be antiquated, and that rise above time and place. It is the practice of many modern writers to give a twist to an established literary practice and to call it originality. Nothing so shallow will help us: *non tali auxilio*. A young literature will do well to follow Horace's advice and study the models that time has tested—

vos exemplaria Graeca
nocturna versate manu, versate diurna—

and re-think them in modern terms. And it may be suggested that for those who find the Classics beyond their reach the literature of Holland, with its natural

[1] See Haarhoff: *Schools of Gaul* (Oxford, 1920), p. 166.

gravitas, might, broadly speaking, take the place of Latin, and English literature the place of Greek.

C. But it is time that we considered the case of the third type, the man who would care if he knew. He is a hopeful sort ; it is for his sake that this essay is chiefly written, and for him we must sketch, however briefly, the development of Afrikaans.

Here are some significant dates[1] :—

I. *Early growth of Afrikaans.*
   (a) 1652–1800 (from Van Riebeeck to the publication of the first newspaper at the Cape). Gradual development as a spoken language, which seems to be definitely distinguishable by 1750.
   (b) 1800–1860 (to first conscious use of written Afrikaans). Afrikaans gains a footing as a spoken language ; scattered words and phrases used in writing.
   (c) 1860–1875 (to foundation of Du Toit's organization for promotion of Afrikaans). Occasional use in writing. Well established as a spoken language.

II. *The First Period of the Afrikaans Movement.*
   1875–1900. The struggle for recognition.

III. *The Second Period.*
   1900–1919. Renewed promotion of Afrikaans. The first real poets.

IV. *The Third Period.*
   1919– — . Consolidation and development. Widening of range.

[1] See F. C. L. Bosman : Afrikaans as Skryftaal in Botha and Burger's *Grammar of Afrikaans.*

From journals of travel and periodicals of various kinds, it may be seen that Afrikaans existed on the platteland by about 1750. The Cape in 1820, after it had been taken by the British, was a colony in which seven-eighths of the white population nominally spoke the Dutch of Holland : but in reality it was Afrikaans that was becoming their mother-tongue. By the middle of the 19th century we find Afrikaans used in a comedy by C. E. Boniface, and in 1860 Louis Meurant writes his *Zamenspraak tusschen Klaas Waarzegger en Jan Twijfelaar*, on the question of the separation of the Eastern Province from the Cape, in strongly Netherlandish but indubitable Afrikaans. It is this production, welcomed on the platteland and eagerly read, that led directly to the first organised movement for Afrikaans known as *Die Eerste Afrikaanse Taal Beweging* in 1875.

The efforts of the early pioneers who grouped themselves round the genius of S. J. du Toit have been described by the late Dr. Lydia van Niekerk. Those who think that Afrikaans was artificially fed and pampered, or who imagine that it gained too easy a recognition, should read the story of those years. Amid the contempt and active hostility not only of the English, but also of very many Afrikaans-speaking South Africans (there are people even to-day who speak Afrikaans and think that they are speaking High Dutch), these men saw that the only possible development for them was to gain recognition for Afrikaans as a written language. It is related that an elder of the Church at Paarl, referring to one of

Du Toit's helpers who wrote under the name of Oom Lokomotief, exclaimed in the height of his indignation, " If I knew who that *Lokomotief* was, I would shoot him dead with my own hand ! " And there were cases of teachers being dismissed because they used Afrikaans in school. But withal this little band, the Voortrekkers of the Language, stood its ground ; and in reading their writings one is struck by their love of the soil, their patient attitude to those who jeered at their literary efforts (" a poor virgin and ill-favoured," one of them might have conceded, " but mine own "), their calm faith in the future (" let Time judge," said S. J. du Toit), their moderation and their belief in Providence.

Of course, their literary efforts did not amount to much—the atmosphere was too polemical, the writers inexperienced and the air thick with politics. " Oom Lokomotief " steamed ahead with vigour, but his verses were often as jerky as the puffs of his engine. The themes are mostly didactic (Northern " gravitas " strongly tinged by religion), or else realistically descriptive. Yet even thus early we detect that racy humour and that capacity for forceful phrase and epigram which is so typical of Afrikaans. The biting *Italum acetum*, the Italian vinegar, which Horace finds in the Roman farmer, is evident also in our country districts, whose inhabitants possess more than one early Roman characteristic ; it appears in literary form, and very strikingly, in the poems of the late A. G. Visser.

Nothing could be more distinct, in genius and in rhythm, from High Dutch.

Du Toit's men had hoped for an Afrikaans version of the Bible: but they found the Church (as history might have taught them to expect) far too conservative. They therefore turned to politics, and 1879 saw the founding of the Afrikaner Bond, which was partly due to the difficulties of the Transvaalers with the Imperial Government. Then came Majuba (1881) and the independence of the Transvaal, and a great wave of national sentiment swept from North to South.

> "Waar Tafelberg begin tot vèr in die Transvaal
> Woon een verenig volk, een algemene taal"

was a typical sentiment. And much of the writing of the period reflects the bitterness that was felt over the annexation of the Transvaal and the joy at its recovery.

On the other hand prayers are offered up for the Queen, and after the disaster of Isandhlwana, Oom Jan (C. P. Hoogenhout) writes[1] in Afrikaans:

> "England, here is our hand!
> Bravely will we fight with you
> .....But yield our land!"

S. J. du Toit had said: "As regards English we say frankly: there are two languages in the country. We recognize the English: let them also recognize us"—a sentiment similar to that which Jan Celliers later expressed to "Neef Brit."

[1] Van Niekerk: *Die Eerste Afrikaanse Taalbeweging*, p. 53.

As compared with this, it is interesting to notice traces of a certain hostility to High Dutch, though these are extremely rare. Thus A. J. Heroldt wrote :

" Werk Hollands maar uit
Stuur weg met die skuit ! "

and again

" Die Hollands moet uit,
Dit is ons besluit ! "

And this in spite of the fact that several of Du Toit's chief helpers were Hollanders.

Important for the psychological position is the sense of persecution and suffering that the verses of this period reveal. The utterance of Oom Jan is typical : " 'n volk voorheen miskend, 'n taal voorheen gesmoord " and

" Ons ruil hom vir g'n taal, al is die nog so skoon,
Daarvoor het ons gely veragtig, smaad en hoon."

Thus the roots of the First Movement are nationality and religion. These supply most of the themes, and are varied by anecdotes and animal stories, ghost yarns and tales of rural life. There are also translations from Burns, Byron, Scott, Longfellow, Heine, the fables of La Fontaine, Goethe, Bürger, Ramler, Goldsmith, Campbell and others. Nor was the output read merely by a circle of cranks. Du Toit's paper *Di Patriot* began with 50 subscribers in 1875, and by 1881 there were 3,000. In 1877 he published an Afrikaans Almanack, typically designated *burgelik*

en kerkelik, of which the first edition of 1,000 was succeeded in 1880 by 5,000, a figure which represents a minimum for the following years. Of the spelling and reading-book for Afrikaans children by Oom Willem in 1878, 1,000 copies were sold and a second edition printed; of Oom Jan's *Prenteboek* the first edition of 1,500 copies was followed by a second in a few years' time; while the paper entitled *Ons Klyntji* began in 1896 with 750 subscribers and had 2,718 before the year was out[1].

In 1896 Du Toit lost his political influence with most of the Afrikaans-speaking South Africans, and his paper, *Di Patriot*, which lasted, however, till 1904, began to decline. Without his wise and energetic support, and because of one or two tactical errors, the Movement dwindled: its enemies rejoiced: "Patterjots" became a term of abuse.

Then came the war of 1899. Suffering drove the Boer back on his spiritual springs, and out of the darkness appeared a new and genuinely beautiful lyric. Naturally, there was much bitterness: how could it be otherwise? Few hearts were left unwounded. The suffering of the past seemed crowned with a final sorrow. A second wave of national feeling swept from North to South, and under its influence the work of Du Toit was renewed.

Strangers who read the early works of this period are often offended by their passionate feeling. Thinking in terms of the Great War, they speak of the South

[1] Van Niekerk, p. 33.

African War as a picnic, as if the sense of individual suffering is lessened by the scale of operations. They seem to forget that the loss of a man's home is felt no less deeply because it happens to be a humble home. It is well to realize how deep were the feelings aroused by the burning of the farms and the enormously disproportionate losses in the concentration camps. You must show that you understand before you can win the confidence of the Afrikaner. On the other hand, we of Afrikaans origin should ask ourselves what we should have done if we had been running an Empire, and we should be able to state the case of the Britisher. On the basis of perfect frankness, supported by goodwill, we may learn to build a really co-operative fabric.

To return to the Second Period. No evaluation of its literary value can here be attempted[1]. But we might note that (as always) poetry, with the exception of Preller, developed before prose, and that this poetry contains a real revelation of beauty. Leipoldt, Totius and Celliers have all done first-rate work. Lyric, sometimes passing into an epic strain, Drama, Satire (in which the name of Langenhoven stands pre-eminent), Didactic writing and the Novel are all represented in this period. Van Bruggen's *Ampie* is a masterpiece of portrayal: few will easily forget the picture of Ampie and his donkey. The characters are well and firmly drawn and the plot efficiently constructed. Excellent,

[1] See E. C. Pienaar: *Taal en Poesie van die Twede Afrikaanse Beweging* (Third Edition) and Schoonees: *Prosa van die Twede Afrikaanse Beweging* (Second Edition).

too, is A. A. Pienaar's *Uit Oerwoud en Vlakte*, which may be read in English as *The Adventures of a Lion Family*. In these, as in Marie Linde's *Onder Bevoorregte Mense*, we have moved away from the war atmosphere of earlier books like D. F. Malherbe's *Vergeet Nie*; and, just as Leipoldt passed from the war poems of *Oom Gert Vertel* to other interests in *Uit Drie Werelddele* (poems relating to Europe, the East Indies and South Africa), so Malherbe passed to *Die Meulenaar* and the seaside life of *Hans die Skipper*.

In mentioning these works, we have entered what has been called the Third Movement (though the name has not yet won official recognition), the period which sees developing an attention to all sides of life and to universal literature. Just as the Roman burgher-farmer had no time for literary studies while his existence was at stake in Italy, but grew later to an active interest in art at home and abroad, so the writer of Afrikaans has developed through a period when his language and his national identity were at stake to further interests and widening horizons. It is significant that a recent novel, *Bodemvas*, by Mrs. Bruwer, which deals with extreme racial antagonisms between English and Dutch, ends on a note of reconciliation.

The short story has developed in recent years in a most promising fashion, and a book on the technique of the short story by Dr. F. E. J. Malherbe has appeared. There is, indeed, very great activity in many directions, and much of it is work that will last. Leipoldt's last

novel, *Galgsalmander*, gives an interesting sketch of life in the nineteenth century, with a fine character study of two old chess-playing farmers.

As far as the recognition of Afrikaans in South Africa is concerned, we need only note the activities of the *Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap* for the Transvaal and the Free State (founded 1905), the foundation of the A.T.V. (*Afrikaanse Taal-Vereniging*) in 1906, the founding of the *S. A. Akademie* in 1909, which definitely adopted Afrikaans, the recognition of it by the Provincial Councils in 1914, which meant its introduction into the schools, and its acceptance by the Church between 1916 and 1919, and by Parliament in 1925.

Meantime a very considerable literature had grown up on the linguistic side : the origin of Afrikaans was debated from various angles, and its syntax, its phonetics and its proverbs were investigated. Work has also been done on Afrikaans folklore.

This hasty sketch must suffice. Enough, we trust, has been said to show that it is not merely a question of blatantly insisting on legal rights or of pursuing a barren political profit. Things like these are by-products and do not touch the heart of the matter. However strange it may appear to an outsider, however many *a priori* arguments may be urged against it, Afrikaans is rooted in the soil and in the hearts of the people. It is something that is worth practical acquaintance because it is genuine ; and it is big with promise for the future because it is actuated by strong life and a love no less strong.

D. Let us turn now to our fourth class—those who are aggressive and exclusive, fierce and unhelpful. Their genesis is fairly clear by this time. They are often assertive as a child is that hears its mother slighted : they love the soil of South Africa and they frequently (though less frequently than before) meet people who despise or affect to despise it, like the Colonel in Lady Anne Barnard's Letters who was eloquent in praise of the wine while he thought it European, but who, when it was discovered to be Cape, at once " found fifty faults in it." While the English South African looks back to a long cultural tradition, our aggressive friends have only the short tradition of South Africa (for in most cases they feel no living connection with Holland, in spite of recent attempts to foster that connection). They therefore guard fiercely their tradition, unenriched as yet by a storied past like that of Europe. They realise that between the Scylla of English and the Charybdis of Dutch opposition, Afrikaans has steered a perilous course, and has only recently reached seas of safety. And even now there are sneers and hostility ; for the fact that Afrikaans has been taught in the schools only since 1914 means that nobody over the age of thirty-two, or thereabout, ever received any instruction in Afrikaans at all, though he may have spoken it ; and therefore there are still many Afrikaans-speaking people, especially in the towns, who oppose Afrikaans from sheer ignorance—sometimes because they are under the impression that they are speaking what they

call " decent Dutch," by which they mean High Dutch. *It is a fact worth stressing that many Afrikaners to-day are completely ignorant of the development of Afrikaans.*

Then there is the factor of suppression in the past : in 1825 came the Somerset Enactment that all official documents must be in English, in 1828 the language of the law-courts became exclusively English, from 1865 English only was to be taught after the first school-year. This last law was abolished in 1882, but that made little difference to the practice of the schools. Dutch was recognized in the schools after the South African War, but phrases like " Crush Afrikanerdom " were still in the air. The writer of this paper was taught at school to be ashamed of his own language, which was dealt with in a perfunctory way and inspected by a man who could not pronounce it. Children of the previous generation were punished for speaking Afrikaans on the school premises, and Olive Schreiner relates how she was severely chastised for using a single word of Afrikaans. It is true that many parents wanted their children to learn English only, but that was because they had been misled, chiefly by the Educational Authorities, into thinking that that was educationally the proper way. Some of the children who suffered thus are under 35 years of age to-day, and, now that the reaction has come, it is hardly to be wondered at that the pendulum has not yet ceased to swing to the opposite extreme. That extreme, the avoidance of English, is, of course, equally

regrettable ; but there are signs that it is already beginning to right itself. The importance of English is being recognized, though it is doubtless true that Afrikaans children know less English than they used to know. There is a price to be paid for bilingual education.

Here it is frequently pointed out that the Dutch suppressed French at the Cape, though with certain concessions and palliatives. Judged by the standards of our time this policy is certainly open to criticism. In fairness, however, it should be viewed in the light of that period and the colonial policy of the time. Moreover, it should be remembered that the Huguenots were sent out under contract by the Dutch East India Company and that their number was small. All told, the men, together with their families, who came out in 1688 and the next few years amount to something under two hundred, which represented about one-sixth of the free burgher population at the Cape[1] ; whereas in 1820 the Dutch population stood to the English in the ratio of eight to one.

It is often fear that lies at the root of the aggressive person's attitude : given an atmosphere of interest and goodwill (and there are places where such an atmosphere exists) fear and aggressiveness will disappear.

[1] Walker : History of South Africa, p. 84 with references to Botha : French Refugees at the Cape and Spoelstra : Bouwstoffen.

E. And so we come to our final category: those who distinguish and co-operate. These are they who feel deeply but are not swept away by emotion. They admit defects and limitations in Afrikaans: they do not exaggerate the claims of its literature. They know that there are many gaps to fill and rough places to make smooth. They try to understand the Englishman's difficulties in seeing the point of Afrikaans and in acquiring the language; they try to make things easy for him and avoid hurting his feelings. But they expect from him a genuine regard for South Africa and her problems, and an active interest in Afrikaans as the chief key to understanding between the white races. Their view is the positive one: they look upon Afrikaans as a precious heritage, hardly won, and think of it as a contribution.

It is a contribution, first of all on the linguistic side. The rapid growth of Afrikaans, in circumstances of peculiar interest, the problems raised in connection with its origin, its power of adaptation to new environments, its relation to European and to indigenous languages and the development of its phonetic system, are all of great importance to philologists, as may be seen from the works not only of South African, but also of Dutch and German scholars.

Nor is its literary contribution to be despised. Among its lyric poems some are equal to the best of modern times, and they show an inner vitality that holds bright promise for the future. Great advances have been made in drama, the epigram has been

developed and given literary polish, novel-writing has passed far beyond the initial attempts, the short story has grown remarkably, the presentation of humour and satire has improved. Of the translation of the Bible the Rev. Adam Fox writes: "This Afrikaans undertaking ought to be tremendously interesting to the Classical scholar. For the original Greek was written in a bilingual, if not trilingual environment, in a language which had no classical tradition behind it . . . . in an idiom which belonged to the spoken rather than to the written word . . . . The New Testament in Afrikaans, if the work is done with a pure heart, may easily prove to be a masterpiece (*Proceedings Class. Ass. of S.A.*, 1929)". Reviewing translations from the Classics recently, a critic in *De Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* wrote approvingly of the claim made by the translator that Afrikaans, because of its many natural dactyls, was an excellent medium for translating the Classical hexameter, and commented on the dignity and the musical flow of the versions from Callimachus and Homer. Thus there are unsuspected possibilities for the literary development of Afrikaans.

A new quarterly for art and literature—*Die Nuwe Brandwag* edited by Dr. M. L. du Toit, has been extraordinarily successful, and bears witness to quickened artistic interest throughout the country. This paper is easily the best of its kind in South Africa, and it illustrates the widening range of the cultured Afrikaner. In it the literatures of all European

countries receive attention (A. E. Housman is cheek by jowl with Anatole France, and Yugo-Slavian literature and the Hebrew stories of Frischman appear along with Greek and Latin classics), while there are beautiful reproductions of South African paintings and sculptures. More popular in its aim is *Die Huisgenoot*, a weekly under the able editorship of Dr. H. Viljoen: and the single consideration that this paper, with its 35,000 subscribers, is read by approximately 100,000 people, many of whom would otherwise be reading nothing, and the fact that general knowledge, art, science and literature are absorbed from it, should reconcile many a die-hard to Afrikaans. But the important thing for future development is the amount of talent and energy[1] that these papers represent.

Moreover, the development of Afrikaans has made an immense contribution to the purity of the language. A generation ago, when people were taught to despise their own speech, Dutch prefixes and suffixes were freely tacked on to English words, and contempt bred contemptibleness. The results of this process are still with us ; but educated Afrikaners have for the most part acquired a pride in their language and are ashamed to abuse it by indiscriminate admixture. The gain in euphony is very great.

We have already referred to the release of spirit and the new freedom that Afrikaans has brought to the Afrikaner ; but to the English-speaking South African

[1] A catalogue of a few years ago gives 815 Afrikaans books, including translations but excluding a host of schoolbooks.

also it has a contribution to make. Not only does it provide a means of intercourse with his fellow citizens, which High Dutch fails to give, but to English South African writers it supplies the key to much of the platteland. It seems a very great pity that a portrayer of country life in South Africa should be debarred by an ignorance of Afrikaans from *Ampie*, which breathes the very soul of the veld and to which no translation could quite do justice. Again, things like Leipoldt's poem *Dingaansdag* help us, far more than formal history, to understand the feelings of the Voortrekkers and their love of the soil. It makes a contribution to sound citizenship and to mutual understanding. And there is humour. You often see genuinely humorous and interesting Afrikaners fall into commonplace formalism in the company of Englishmen. But when you really understand a man's sense of humour and can laugh with him in his own language, you have gone a long way in co-operation. You will then no longer be misled by headlines or those generalizations that are so convenient and so untrue, but will take a man on his merit as a South African, and neither breed suspicion in him nor be poisoned with suspicions yourself.

Then perhaps the day will come when we shall value and foster each other's literature, when the English South African will look on the Afrikaans tradition as his and be proud of it as a contribution that his country makes; then the Afrikaner will cherish English South African literature as being part

of his own tradition ; and so we may come to understand and share whatever each holds dear by sentiment and experience. But that result will only be possible on the basis of nationality, and it has been shown how intimately the threads of language, literature and nationality have been intertwined in South Africa. Whatever may be the value of the holistic view in science, the holistic or, as the Greeks said, the synoptic view (which, according to Greek thought, is that of the really educated man) should be cultivated by all good South Africans ; and the habit of looking at things as a whole does not mean ignoring the individuality of the parts. In this way two races, both hard-headed, both inclined to be unimaginative and therefore apt to exaggerate their differences, may learn at last to understand, and, inspired by a common love of South Africa, to help forward the common task.

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APPENDIX.

In the colloquial speech of classical Latin *n* before *s* was a faintly nasalized vowel or not pronounced at all: compare the nasalized vowel in Afrikaans *ons*, *mens* with the Nederlands pronunciation, where the *n* is pronounced as in English. Even Classical Latin had shed its endings (*legonti* had become *legont*), and the process was continued in the transition to Romance—*donatus* becomes French *donné* as Nederlands *gegeven* becomes Afrikaans *gegee*; and we find in late Latin only one oblique case: instead of *pater*, *patrem*, *patris*, *patri*, *patre* we have only *pater*, *patre*: so instead of the archaic Nederlands *des vaders*, *den vader*, Afrikaans simply uses prepositions with the single article *die*. Sometimes, however, loss of endings may lead to confusion (some think that Afrikaans has incurred this risk; the *Akademie* itself seems to have felt it, and recently it sanctioned as an experiment the renewed use of the imperfect passive auxiliary *werd*). Thus in Late Latin when *homine* was the only oblique case, prepositions were more extensively used to make the meaning clear:

j'ai donné à l'homme
=ad (ello) homine.

So Afrikaans uses at least one preposition where Nederlands does not: "slaan *vir* hom" for Nederlands "sla hem." Syncope, also, played a large part. Latin *calidus* early became *caldus*, which passed into Romance,

while French *froid* and Italian *freddo* presuppose a form *frigdus* from *frigidus*. In Afrikaans syncope regularly takes place with intervocalic *g* (Nederlands *wegen*, Afrikaans *weë*), while we find violent cases of syncope with certain proper nouns, Blignault rhyming with English wain (Cf. English St Aldgate's often pronounced to rhyme with *wolds*). Vulgar Latin dispenses with anomalous forms : *posse*, *velle*, *esse*, become in Late Latin *potere*, *volere*, *essere*, just as Nederlands *gegeten* is Afrikaans *geëet* ; and the fourth and fifth declensions disappear, like many Nederlands declined forms in Afrikaans. The plural *gaudia* is mistaken for a singular, whence French *la joie*, Italian *gioia*, etc., just as Nederlands *varken* is mistaken for a plural, whence Afrikaans *vark*. Late Latin develops a double comparative *magis beatior* (Cf. Shakespeare's *more happier*, *most unkindest*) and in spoken, though not in written, Afrikaans (except with humorous import) we have *meer beterder*, and even *meer beterste*.

B. ENGLISH IN THE NATIONAL LIFE.

By R. F. Currey.

When the plan of this book was first being discussed by the group of writers who are responsible for it, it was felt that no general survey of the South African scene would be complete which took no account of the thorny controversies that have revolved round the whole question of "bilingualism." However, a very little reflection showed them that to regard this subject merely as a controversial question was to mistake its whole nature. What was required was a more or less full account of the whole Afrikaans language movement, so that those who are unfamiliar with its history and the ideals that have inspired it might be enabled to see that in this movement South Africa has something which is not, as is often assumed, a drag on its cultural progress and an unnecessary complication of life in a land already overcrowded with complexities, but is a great opportunity for the widening and enriching of life as it may be lived in South Africa.

To help clear away some of the misunderstandings that have prevented many of us from seeing this question in its proper light the study dealing with "Afrikaans in the National Life," with which the present study is linked, was written. Happily the

same misunderstandings have not arisen on the other side, and it is not therefore necessary to deal in equal detail with the English contribution to our national life—it would indeed be superfluous to do so. Some aspects of it, however, do merit attention, and certainly we should not forget that the language or the languages of a people are inseparably linked up with its culture ; where, then, the importance of Afrikaans has been fully discussed in this connection, at least a passing reference must be made to English. There is not a great deal that requires to be said. To give any adequate account of the growth of the language and literature of England, as was done in the case of Afrikaans, would be as impossible as it would be unnecessary ; and to argue at length of the value to all South Africans of a knowledge of that literature would be, one hopes, at least equally unnecessary.

But, as we have said, questions of language and culture cannot be dissociated, and the reaction of the language of England on the culture of South Africa must inevitably be so great that some account, however brief, must be taken of it in any such collection of studies as this tries to be. Now, to many healthy-minded people any mention of " culture " is as a red rag to a bull, for it conjures up visions of self-conscious intellectuals, busily " shampooing their souls " and cultivating nothing so much as a fine contempt for all the common things of earth. This hostile attitude to " culture " is not without a good deal of justification, and we may admit that in any

small community such as ours all intellectual and artistic activity tends inevitably to become the province of small self-centred groups, whose proceedings do occasionally give rise to some of those things which so irritate that valuable person, the healthy Philistine. But when we have made due allowance for this, and have seen through the fogs and mists with which the devotees of culture have sometimes enshrouded their favourite word, it is as well to remind ourselves that culture really means that which distinguishes human life at its best from the life of the beasts that perish. Only in a nation whose whole structure is radically unsound is it the preserve of the select few, for it finds its most obvious expression, not only in the national language, art, and literature, but in a people's institutions and manners as well.

Now it is clear that the culture of England cannot be transported six thousand miles across the sea and be established under new skies without some curious changes taking place and some interesting problems arising. For culture, like other things, unless it adapts itself to its environment, will sicken and die. A purely exotic culture is an abomination : it loses its creative power, which in the main is the justification of its existence, and can only be maintained at an altogether excessive cost, both moral and material. It is probably for this reason that travellers seem to find only a pathetic interest in the attempt to recreate the life of the Parisian boulevards in Pondicherry or Madagascar.

The whole problem of a transported culture raises a number of questions, as difficult as they are interesting, and the cultural sphere is one in which only a very rash self-assurance would care to dogmatize. For although we here in South Africa may speak the language of England, and may, perhaps, continue to speak it as it is spoken in England, yet almost the greater part of English literature finds its inspiration in things that do not exist in South Africa. (How many of the most familiar and most loved passages of English literature are concerned, for instance, with the coming of spring or autumn, or with the keeping of Christmas, in a northern European land!) We may take over, almost unchanged, the parliamentary and governmental institutions of England, yet these institutions can only be understood, and therefore can only function effectively, when we know the historical circumstances which have brought them into being, circumstances whose survivals are often still powerful elements in English political life, but are as often utterly unknown in South Africa.

That the questions here raised are of far more than merely academic interest a very few instances will suffice to show. Consider, for example, the problems connected with the speaking of English in South Africa. In spite of the Great War, and the opportunity which it gave the men of the streets and fields and the factories of England to get to know at first hand the men of the ranches and the veld and the mining camps, it is still true that English, spoken as

it is in the various Dominions, strikes the Englishman born in England as something odd and unfamiliar and alien. And, human nature being what it is, the odd and the unfamiliar tends to seem distasteful and unpleasant. Now here a clear practical problem is raised : are we going to do all in our power to ensure that the well of spoken English in South Africa is kept pure and undefiled, or are we actively to encourage and eagerly to develop and cultivate all those variations of accent and intonation which are already evident amongst us? To the writer, at any rate, it seems that on this question there can be no two opinions. If the many varieties of "South African accent" exhibited any added beauty of sound or greater exactness of expression, there would be much to be said for fostering them carefully. But to confess that this is very far indeed from being the case is not to be unpatriotic. We are all familiar with the pleasing precision of the English spoken in Inverness or the soft charm in the voices of the South-Western Irish, but there is nothing that is charming in English as it is sometimes spoken in South Africa or Australia. We can surely feel nothing but sympathy with the unhappy experience of the stout Mr. Parker, a recent arrival from England, who thought it merely gross bad taste on the part of his otherwise delightful South African hosts that they addressed him on all occasions, in public and in private, as "Porker"; nor is there any high degree of aesthetic pleasure to

be derived from hearing a congregation singing their earnest encouragements to the " yappy band of pilgrims " to persevere in their difficult task.

A careful analysis of what is called " the South African accent " is all that is required to convince us that it should be expelled as an enemy rather than welcomed as a friend. For in practically every instance these aberrations of spoken English proceed from mere slackness and laziness of speaking. To speak English (or, one imagines, any language) adequately demands that all the organs of speech are fully brought into play. To do all one's speaking " with the front of one's mouth " produces that high-pitched, staccato, unmusical speech which sometimes prompts English people to ask " Why do all South Africans make a statement as if they were asking a question ? " or changes the beautiful vowel sound of such a word as " where ? " into a clipped " whe ? " The movement has not gone too far to be arrested, and the progress that has been made in the last ten years is remarkable, as anyone who knows South African boys and girls is aware—and it is a curious fact that in this respect girls have made vastly greater progress than boys. Not a little is due, we believe, to the careful attention that has been given to the study of Afrikaans : one cannot take pains and trouble to speak one language correctly without there being a favourable reaction on the speaking of the other.

To deal with the work of South African writers of English in a spirit of critical appreciation would be as

difficult as it would be invidious. A great deal of work is being done, and already there are South Africans whose names are regularly looked for by the reading public in the publishers' " autumn announcements." They do not as yet represent any common point of view, and there is not any stamp on their work which would warrant us to speak of a " South African school." Perhaps the days have passed, never to return, when it was possible to have local " schools " of literature ; and clearly it is not possible to induce the *genius loci* to inspire our South African writers of English with a common sentiment and common aspiration until the time is ripe for it to do so. The wind of literature bloweth where it listeth, and those whose work is with the written word cannot be organized on principles of scientific production. Meanwhile it is enough for us to know that there are those amongst us who, in English and Afrikaans alike, " sing because they must," and we can afford to wait in patience and confidence for the day when they give to the things of the spirit, which must be the subject matter of all true literature, " a local habitation and a name."

When we come to institutions, we find the same difficult questions confronting us ; and here again it is necessary to mention only one or two instances to illustrate what is meant. There is much in the sphere of institutions which South Africa owes to England, as for instance its parliamentary system, its forms of local government, and the tradition of an independent

Civil Service. But of special interest is the introduction into South Africa from England of the idea of a hereditary monarchy and the whole circle of ideas grouped round what is called "the Crown." The history of hereditary monarchy in England is almost the history of England itself, and this is not the place to go over the ground anew. But whatever its history has been, whatever place it has held at different times in the affections of the people of England, every student of politics recognizes that in the Crown the British Constitution has an instrument of wonderful excellence. It was Walter Bagehot who first made clear to English people the real nature of the monarchy as it was in his day and is with only minor modifications still to-day. It supplies an invaluable, almost an essential, personal element in the life of the nation. And not only does it do this, but, because it is a *hereditary* monarchy, it remains not only clear of the dust and dirt of party politics, but clear also of the plots and intrigues of ambitious place-seekers. By its very isolation, the divinity that doth hedge a king remains unimpaired and unsullied, and yet there is no trespassing on the essential powers of Sovereign Parliament and Sovereign People.

Now, all the constitutional advantage deriving from the monarchy is secured for us in South Africa. It is true that the King, in his own person, cannot reside permanently in more than one of his Dominions, and it is unlikely that he will ever reside elsewhere than

in England. We have therefore to supply for ourselves a proxy for the Crown in the person of the Governor-General, and up to the present every holder of this high office has come to us from overseas. There are those amongst us who see in this something derogatory to our national status. It is argued that an " imported " Governor-General implies that South Africa cannot as yet produce a citizen of the assured prestige which is the necessary qualification for the post. The argument springs from a feeling which is perfectly natural, and right in itself. But there are dangers on the other side which must not be overlooked. If the office of the King's Representative, with its great prestige, its real—if strictly limited—powers, its necessarily high emoluments, were to become a possible prize at which ambition might aim, we might be getting something better than we have at present, but it would certainly be something different. One shudders at the prospect of future Governor-Generals of the Union having to crash their way to Government House over the prostrate forms of other competitors for the post. In such an event, it is likely that all the virtue would go out of the office. Far rather than that, let the Governor-General continue to come to South Africa from outside its borders. And, if we imagine that a new conception of the Governor-General's office can be successfully grafted on to the old institutions of cabinet and parliamentary government, we shall merely find ourselves proving afresh how dangerous it is to pour new wine into old bottles.

One further instance of the problems raised by bringing English institutions out to South Africa, far from the soil in which they first grew, may be taken from a very different field. The history of the Christian body known as the " Church of the Province of South Africa " is full of interest for the social historian of South Africa and provides even more interesting parallels for the student of politics. The Church of the Province is the representative in South Africa of the " Established Church of England, under our most Religious and Gracious Sovereign George V., by the Grace of God, Defender of the Faith." Its history is short, but in that brief space it has faced (and solved) in its own sphere all those questions of " commonwealth relations " which in politics are still such potentially combustible material. For the Church of the Province has known what the equivalent of " government from Downing Street " meant ; it, too, has felt the need for " onafhanklikheid " ; it, too, since the Colenso controversy, has had to solve the question of securing complete freedom of government without losing that spiritual unity with the Mother Church, which was to the founders of the Church of the Province more precious than any form of governmental machinery. The result is that it is a body thoroughly South African in character and outlook, able to sound a definitely South African note at Lambeth, yet bearing on itself the unmistakable impress of English culture and English scholarship, and thoroughly representative of the distinctively English

types of Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant. That the service of English Christianity to South Africa has been limited to the contribution of any one body of organized Christians no one, least of all the Church of the Province itself, would for one moment suggest. It is merely taken as an instance of what can be done by strenuous labour and genuine devotion to acclimatize the plants of the English mind and spirit so that they may bear fruit amongst us and yet still retain the full flavour of their English origin.

There is no need to extend these instances indefinitely : we can all think of others for ourselves, and these will naturally differ as our own interests and temperaments differ. But of them all it may be said that there is the same question to be faced. England is the repository of so much that is excellent in human life, and almost all its spiritual riches can be freely drawn upon by us. And yet, as experience shows, we have to be careful in doing so. On the one hand there is the danger that we may centre our care and efforts on acquiring these things and forget that they have to be adapted in form, if not in spirit, to meet changed conditions ; and, if we fail to remember this, we shall inevitably become aliens in our own land. On the other, we must beware lest the struggle and effort required to make these things—intangible as they are—part of our South Africanism is too much for our faint hearts, and we compound with our

consciences by telling ourselves that our failure really shows what good South Africans we are. It is as right as it is natural that English South Africans should feel it necessary to be looking constantly to the rock whence they are hewn. For if the South Africa of the future should abandon its contact with the sources of inspiration for which England stands the loss would be a great and certain one, and it would mean a loss of things not easily found elsewhere.

Chapter III.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE COMMONWEALTH.

By O. D. Schreiner.

Two questions occur to one as bringing out in a rough fashion the essentials of the problem of our relations with the Commonwealth. The first is, what should be the attitude of the individual South African towards the Commonwealth? And the second is, what policy in relation to the Commonwealth would one like to see pursued by South African Governments?

The two questions are naturally connected. The individual commonly relates his point of view to the practical policy which he wants to see in operation, while the statesman in framing his policy will inevitably bear in mind the tendencies of public feeling on the subject. Nevertheless there is a real difference between the aspects of the problem represented by the two questions, a difference which it is useful to emphasize.

The first question requires some little consideration of the nature of human feeling in relation to the forms of group life with which we are associated. The feeling which a man might entertain for the British Commonwealth is of the same general character as that which he has for his family, his city, his province, his country. It is not essentially different from his feeling for his school, his university, his trade union

or his football club. It is one of the many forms of loyalty, one of the many feelings of association or kinship to which we are all subject. They vary enormously in number, in importance and in intensity, but in kind they do not differ.

The part played in a man's life by these loyalties will depend upon his character and circumstances, his history and the history of his ancestors. In some all loyalties are weak, in others all are strong. In certain persons particular loyalties will be elevated to passions and will exercise an influence unapproached by the others.

National feeling illustrates very clearly the variation in intensity which is to be found in different members of the same community. One man may have the feeling of patriotism so strongly developed that it fills his life like a religion. It is always active within him. His relations with his fellowmen are all coloured by a deep love of country, and he may even regard with feelings of hostility those who do not share his enthusiasm. Not merely is he prepared to die for his country—that, after all, is a fairly common human attribute—but he lives as if he were always on the point of doing so.

Another man regards his country with the cold eye of a critic. Its deficiencies seem very obvious and serious to him. For him patriotism is no ever-burning flame; he may confess to it as to an unfortunate weakness. Yet he probably conducts his life as satisfactorily as the other, as decently and as honestly. He

may be as generous and as kindly, and, though the feeling for his homeland plays no active part in his daily life, he is probably as ready as the more obvious patriot to die in its service.

Between these extremes lies a wide range of different degrees of enthusiasm for the nation. It is not often that the varying points of view lead to difficulty or serious friction. We generally recognize that criticism is not to be identified with hostility and that each man must be allowed to feel towards the nation as his antecedents and his character impel him, just as he may please himself as to the amount of affection that he bestows on those allied to him by blood. The law and public opinion require some measure of good behaviour from a man as a parent and as a citizen, but uniformity of feeling in these respects is neither attainable nor desirable.

It is from this angle that one should approach the question as to the part which the British Commonwealth of Nations should play in the feelings and life of any particular South African. Just as individual feelings differ in respect of loyalty to city, province, country, so they must naturally and necessarily vary in regard to the Commonwealth of which our country is a partner.

Such difficulty as occurs in practice arises from the fact that, while no one sees any reason why one person should not possess in full strength and side by side the various other loyalties, national patriotism and attachment to a larger group like the Commonwealth are

frequently regarded as standing on a different footing. They may even be treated as mutually exclusive. But short of such an extreme view it appears to be assumed by many people that each person possesses a limited fund of patriotic sentiment which he can distribute between South Africa and the Commonwealth, but only so that the greater the affection he bears to the one the less is available for the other. This is surely a mistaken view. A human being is capable of many or few, of strong or weak, loyalties according to his nature, but there is no arbitrary limitation. There is no loyalty fund in the human breast. The theory of a one and undivided patriotic loyalty stands on no stronger foundation in psychology than does the theory of indivisible, illimitable sovereignty in jurisprudence.

The limits of the strength of particular loyalties are to be found not in any quantitative view, but in the limits of possible co-existence without conflict. That such co-existence in the case of the loyalties in question is not only possible but easy and natural is demonstrated in the lives of very many South Africans and dwellers in other parts of the Commonwealth. The fact is that conflict between national patriotism and attachment to the Commonwealth is only to be found by searching among remote hypotheses. Similar possibilities of conflict may be discovered in regard to the other loyalties. Men have had to sentence their children to death for the good of the state. Conceivably a conflict might arise for South Africans between provincial and national loyalty. But the wise

man—and in this respect, at least, the majority of us are wise—does not concern himself with far-fetched problems of this nature. They are not practical and may be left to be dealt with if and when they arise. The less we worry ourselves about them the less likely are they ever to emerge from the region of barren speculation.

The conclusion one arrives at is that the right attitude for a South African to adopt in regard to the Commonwealth is the one that comes naturally to him. Loyalties may not safely be forced or thwarted. If he is wise he will not be taking stock continually of the strength of the various loyalties to which he and his fellow countrymen are subject. He will appreciate that many of the latter must inevitably entertain different feelings from his own, and he will recognize that they are entitled to those feelings as much as he is entitled to his. There is no reason why one whose feeling for the Commonwealth sits lightly upon him, but who finds his chief source of inspiration in his South African nationality, should feel resentment towards one who alongside of his South African patriotism is filled with an intense enthusiasm for the Commonwealth. Nor is there greater reason why the latter should regard the former with dislike or suspicion.

Changes in these fundamental sentiments are not brought about by persuasion, and attempts in that direction merely lead to misunderstanding. Only a cheerful and wholehearted acceptance of the differences

of outlook as natural and not necessarily unhealthy can provide a sound foundation for our national life.

We come now to our second question. The Government of the day, whichever party may be in power, has among its many responsibilities the duty of acting on behalf of the rest of us in developing our relationship with the other members of the Commonwealth. Our Government is our mouthpiece in partnership as in other affairs, and we look to it to play a part worthy of our country in the councils of the association.

It is natural in this connection to consider the position of South Africa in the partnership. The Imperial Conference of 1926, which dealt so wisely with the question of the status of the several associated nations, declared in unequivocal terms the complete equality of the partners in a voluntary association. Great Britain and the Dominions were stated to be "autonomous communities within the British Em- "pire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to "another in any aspect of their domestic or external "affairs, though united by a common allegiance to "the Crown, and freely associated as members of "the British Commonwealth of Nations."

While this pronouncement was on the whole well received in South Africa, its reception was not uniformly enthusiastic. There were probably several reasons for this. Some persons may have been influenced by party considerations, feeling faintly aggrieved that the party in power should have been able to proclaim a triumph which these persons

thought had been substantially achieved before. Others there were to whose sentiments the final abandonment of the old republican tradition which the acceptance of the declaration implied was disturbing, or even repugnant. Then there was a school of conservative-minded imperialists who disliked any such declaration, however logical, because they actually preferred the old colonial, slightly subordinate, feeling. They are natural-born private soldiers, proud of never taking a stripe and happy to leave the thinking and leading to be done by others. To these persons, happily few, and growing fewer, who retain the habits of mind associated with imperialism as it was understood in the days of the Anglo-Boer War, one may recommend a study of the modern position as it appears in the report of the Inter-Imperial Relations Committee of the 1926 Imperial Conference, and as it is explained in the illuminating speeches delivered by Mr. Amery during his visit to South Africa in 1927.

But the more serious view was that the declaration was the thin end of the wedge which would split the Commonwealth. This sort of fear was perhaps to be expected at the time, but it was in fact quite unjustifiable. The sense of subordination, however slight, could not fail to be irksome to many, and it was right that it should be removed. But its removal, so far from leading to the disruption of the Commonwealth, was only a clearing operation necessary for its re-establishment on a firmer foundation. While some South Africans may not have felt, personally, any sense

of subordination, so long as such a sense existed in the minds of any of their fellow-citizens the step taken was essential to further progress.

The position, then, is clear that we are all equal partners in the Commonwealth; in so far as any legal anomalies remain as an impairment of that equality, we should welcome their removal. It is true that equality in status is accompanied by differences in population and in wealth, and that there always will be such differences, but they in no way affect the principle of equal partnership upon which our Commonwealth is established. To-day, we need no longer consider the barren, legalistic argument about the right of the partner nations to secede from the Commonwealth. If South Africa should ever want to leave the Commonwealth nothing is more certain than that no finger would be raised from outside to stop her. And there the matter may well be left.

The independence of the partner nations having been settled once and for all, the way is clear for the development of positive policies of co-operation for the benefit of all of us. We members of the Commonwealth have a wonderful estate to administer, and it is our resolve to improve and develop it by all the means in our power. This is an age of co-operation. States as well as individuals are coming to recognize more and more how tremendous is the power of combined effort as compared with the possibilities of isolated endeavour. We look forward, therefore, with

confidence to great advances in the direction of practical co-operation between the members of the Commonwealth.

It is not proposed to enter here into detailed suggestions as to the lines along which at the present time combined effort may be usefully employed. Those are matters for the statesmen of the Commonwealth to work out in consultation. Whether at the present Conference any satisfactory scheme of Commonwealth preference will be devised or whether separate trade agreements between the respective partners may appear to be the more useful policy it is impossible to predict. But the peoples behind the statesmen expect that every endeavour will be made to foster trade between the different parts of the Commonwealth and the greater the measure of co-operation attained the better will those peoples be satisfied. Much is doubtless being done to-day in the way of combined research into the potentialities of our splendid countries, but it is important to appreciate that we are only at the beginning, that we have hitherto only touched the fringe of the problem of how to co-ordinate our efforts for our common benefit. It is not possible to place a limit upon the progress that may be achieved in the future.

The peoples of the Commonwealth expect their leaders to devise better and more fruitful methods of co-operation than have hitherto been in use. But that is not all. There is a great task of education to be undertaken, and every part of the Commonwealth

must be led and directed by its statesmen to a fuller understanding and a greater appreciation of what can be done by combined effort in the solution of our difficulties and the advancement of our countries.

And we of South Africa should look to our statesmen on our behalf to undertake freely and readily such obligations as membership of the Commonwealth must entail. It would be right for us, for instance, to contribute our fair proportion of the expenditure required for our common defence. The nations of the Commonwealth are essentially peace-loving, but, in so far as it is still necessary to make provision against possible aggression, the burden must be shared. We should seek no charity in this regard. As equal partners we should claim the right to a full share of a partner's responsibilities.

It is the privilege of the statesmen of the Commonwealth at this time to take part in new experiments in human co-operation, and their decisions may have a profound effect on the future of the whole race. For the Commonwealth is to-day a workshop in which are being forged the instruments which may later be used in a wider sphere. It is now providing for the rest of the world an example of association coupled with national freedom which gives added strength to the faith of men in the future of the League of Nations. And it is here that the part to be played by South Africa becomes of special importance. It is the presence in the Commonwealth of South Africa, Ireland, and French Canada that proves that our

association rests upon no racial basis. The word "British" in the title of the Commonwealth, though historically associated with the people of Great Britain, is losing and will in time wholly lose all trace of its racial origin. Herein history does but repeat itself; so, as has been pointed out, was it also with the word "Roman" in the case of the Roman Empire. Those who still regard it as an English Commonwealth are to-day as few as they are uncomprehending. We are a community of nations, of nationalities and of races. Here in South Africa we have many, and their number is steadily increasing, who are proud of belonging to more than one of the several European races which compose our population. To them racial feeling, the most dangerous form of loyalty, makes no appeal. South Africa is eminently fitted to play a strong part in maintaining the essentially non-racial character of the Commonwealth.

Apart from the example of co-operation between nations which the Commonwealth provides for the world, it is in a position to do direct and immeasurable service to mankind in the maintenance of peace. This, obviously the greatest necessity of the world, is not to be achieved without constant, earnest effort. If that effort weaken and fail, no man can predict the consequences to human life on this globe. The Commonwealth stands in a unique position to save the world from catastrophe. Its power and influence are immense and must grow as the populations of the still only partially filled Dominions increase. If the

partners are united in a firm resolve that peace shall remain with us, it is not too much to say that they can guarantee that it shall be so.

So in regarding our Commonwealth's future we are entitled to look upon it as no mere close corporation existing solely for the selfish advantage of its members. We desire its continuance and the increase of its powers of cohesion not merely in order that its several members may grow more prosperous, but also that the power of each one of them to play a useful part in the progress of the world may be enhanced.

And, if some day in the far distant future it comes to pass that our Commonwealth cease to exist as such, we hope and believe that this will not take place through any dispersion of the partners into separate and isolated states, but through a merger in some wider, greater association of nations, when the world has learned to understand and appreciate the practical wisdom of free co-operation.

Chapter IV.

SOUTH AFRICA AND THE NORTH.

By W. H. Ramsbottom.

An important element in political thought in South Africa to-day is the consciousness that we no longer live alone in Southern Africa.

Until quite recently the dreams of Cecil Rhodes that South Africa should extend to the North have had little reality either for our statesmen or for our citizens. We have been greatly concerned with our own problems, and we have not broken down the habit of mind that we are an isolated community. That habit of mind and that concentration of attention on our own affairs have caused us to underestimate the importance to us of the European settlements which have established themselves in the North.

Of recent years our public men have been becoming increasingly conscious of the presence of our neighbours, and that consciousness is beginning to affect the minds of South Africans generally.

In an attempt to suggest a South African policy we deem it necessary to consider what our relationship with these northern neighbours should be. The policy to be adopted will depend upon our attitude of mind towards the states which have established themselves in Southern and Central Africa.

Our attitude may be that we have quite enough to do to look after our own affairs, and that we are not

interested in the affairs of our neighbours—that we wish to leave them alone and that we wish to be left alone by them.

Or our attitude may be that we wish to get to know our neighbours and to like them, with the hope that they will get to know and to like us—that we wish to give them such help as we can, and in return accept such help as they can give us.

The former attitude would result in a policy of isolation. It is submitted that such a policy would be wrong on principle and unfortunate in its consequences. Morally, it is our duty as the oldest European inhabitant to get to know those who have more recently settled in Africa and to help them where we can. Politically, a policy of isolation must lead to mutual dislike and distrust, to divergent policies and conflicting interests, to tariff walls and to ultimate hostility. Economically, such a policy would result in a deprivation of markets for our produce, our brains and our energy.

A policy of isolation appears to have so little to commend it and to be fraught with such grave dangers that we turn away from it and consider other possibilities.

As we have already indicated, the other possibilities depend upon our attitude of mind, If we are to avoid a policy of isolation, our attitude towards our neighbours should be one of friendly interest. That attitude of mind must be encouraged and established, and upon the foundation thus laid a constructive

policy of closer relations with the northern states can be erected. The general policy, it is submitted should be to get to know our neighbours—to find out how they are situated, what their problems and troubles are, and tactfully to create and to cement friendships with them. In carrying out this policy it will, of course, be important to avoid taking sides in their domestic quarrels. Our primary object should be to show a steady good will and understanding which if reciprocated will lead to firm and lasting friendship.

Such a policy contains no design for closer political union at present, or indeed at any time. It is quite obvious that political closer union with our friends in the North is at present, and for many years will remain, impracticable and undesirable. But the fact that it is impracticable for all the different states in Southern and Central Africa to be united under any form of common government is no obstacle to their establishing between themselves relationship of the greatest cordiality, to their working together in the closest co-operation in the solution of their many problems.

Political union, if it is to be a success, must be the natural result of feelings of friendship and trust between the uniting states. Those feelings must be established before there can be any thought of Union. They are not created by Union, but are rather dispelled by prematurely coming together under a common governmental control. If the states of Southern Africa are brought together by ties of friendship and

common effort, added to the ties of race and language which already exist, closer political union would seem to be unnecessary.

If at a later date closer union between South Africa and the other states comes about, it will be the result of a desire for union between the peoples of the different states bred of mutual trust and respect. In the meantime we may dispel from our minds any thoughts of political union—thoughts which frighten many of us and which tend to frighten our neighbours who are shy at our advances and nervous as to our intentions.

The policy advocated, therefore, is one of interest and co-operation. The next step is to see how this policy can be given effect. It seems clear that each of our neighbour states must be considered and approached in accordance with the special circumstances of its case.

Our nearest neighbour, Southern Rhodesia, a self-governing colony, has as its European population precisely the same peoples as occupy the Union—it has its English-speaking people and its Afrikaans-speaking people. Many of the former and all of the latter have moved to Rhodesia from the Union, to which they are still bound by strong ties of memory and affection. Both countries have large native populations of kindred races. Surely such peoples should have no difficulty in establishing a firm friendship. What obstacle can there be? It is suggested that the obstacle is the very shyness and nervousness to which we have already referred. The people of

Southern Rhodesia possess a strong local patriotism—they feel themselves to be Rhodesians. Such a feeling is not only natural but right. Its absence would be a sure sign of lack of vigour and vitality in a young community. We are very conscious of precisely the same feeling in ourselves—we are South Africans—and we expect that feeling and that status to be respected. The people of Southern Rhodesia wish to remain Rhodesians—they do not wish to be incorporated with the Union. That feeling must be understood and respected, and the nervousness which is felt at our advances must be dispelled. That nervousness can be removed by putting aside all thought or suggestion of political union. We respect the independence of the Rhodesians and have no wish to absorb or to interfere with them. But we do want to co-operate with them and to work with them for our mutual benefit.

When the honesty of our intentions is realized, there should be no difficulty in co-operation with people of our own race and language living in a territory immediately adjoining ours whose problems are almost identical with those with which we grapple. In agriculture, in mining, in politics our problems are similar. Farmers in both countries are contending with droughts, pests, and problems of production and marketing. In politics the most urgent need in both countries is to formulate and adopt a sound policy for the development of the Native peoples. The problems are the same—the difficulty of the solution varies according to the varying circumstances. But it would

appear that the same problems would be capable of similar solutions in the two countries. There can be no reason why those whose task it is to solve the problems of the Union should not work in close co-operation with those who are similarly employed on the other side of the Limpopo, why they should not agree upon lines of thought and experiment, why they should not compare results and seek together to arrive at solutions. There is every reason why those whose duty it is to formulate and give effect to policy should co-operate with the rulers of our neighbour state. The design should be jointly to arrive at right conclusions and work out right policies. Every effort should be made to move along lines which are parallel and which do not diverge, so that the policies adopted by the two countries do not, by differing, create conflicting interests with resulting feelings of resentment and hostility.

In particular the broad policy of Native development should be a joint policy. Our treatment of the Natives in the Union must react upon Rhodesia, and conversely their Native policy will make its effect felt in the Union. The problem is one for both countries. The fact that more land is available for native occupation in Rhodesia than in the Union may enable the Rhodesians to make use of methods in the solution of their problem which are not equally applicable in the Union. But the broad general principles to be followed should be decided in consultation between our respective governments. The details of administration and the solution of

peculiar local difficulties can safely be left to the individual states.

Our economic problems generally are similar and of such nature that what is done in one state must react upon the other. These too should be faced in consultation in order that policies may be adopted which will tend to further the mutual interests of both states, and in order that a conflict of economic interests and the erection of tariff walls may be avoided. An unrestricted Customs Union with extension to the North as far as possible should be accepted as a cardinal point in policy.

If the attitude of mind of mutual respect is once established, and if the desirability of cordial collaboration is clearly recognized, the machinery required to give effect to the policy of co-operation can easily be created. Small conferences at frequent and regular intervals could be arranged, and close touch could be maintained by inter-governmental correspondence. Existing co-operation in technical activities could be extended. Frequent meeting in conference could not fail to produce results of the greatest benefit. Feelings of personal friendship and respect which would grow up between the members of the respective governments would inevitably bring the countries closer together.

If the community of interests which exists is clearly understood in both countries, and if the task of working together for the solution of our joint problems is honestly undertaken, there will be no need for political closer union. But if in course of time the mutual

desire for such union should arise it will come spontaneously. It is neither essential nor at present desirable.

In regard to our neighbours further north, it seems clear that a similar policy of co-operation should be adopted. The fact that the other states are governed under the Crown Colony system need not in any way affect the policy of co-operation. While clearly it would adversely affect any scheme of political union with the territories of the North, the fact that they are administered as Crown Colonies cannot affect a policy of establishing and maintaining friendly relations and of making positive efforts to work together for the common benefit.

The way in which the policy is applied will of course depend upon the circumstances of each case. It is not easy to predict what the futures of the several Northern States will be, and we desire to express no opinion as to what it ought to be. But the policy is one which admits of modification from time to time as circumstances change. It is not necessary, therefore, to look further ahead than the immediate future.

Northern Rhodesia is a country of great mineral wealth, which is climatically fitted to support a considerable European population. It can safely be predicted that in the near future the mines of Northern Rhodesia will be developed and will attract many Europeans to the country. The population will grow in all departments, industrial, agricultural, mercantile, professional, administrative. There will probably be

a period of rapid development, and we should be fully alive to the opportunities both of service and benefit which that development will offer. We shall be able to serve by sending our men to the mines and industries, to the professions and to the administrative services, where they will be able to help in the development of the country. The benefits we can receive are obvious. The growing population will be a new market for our produce, both human and material. We can both help and benefit by opening to the youth of the new community our schools and our Universities. These opportunities should not be lost. But they can be grasped only by adopting the attitude of mind that we are cordially interested in the country and its people. They must attract us and we must attract them. As we learn to look to the North, so we must teach them to look to the South—we must encourage them to look to the Union as a base upon which they can draw for help and guidance, for men and for stores ; as a place old-established to which they can come to satisfy their cultural needs and where they will be assured of the welcome of warm fellowship. At the same time problems will arise the solution of which will affect us as does the solution of the problems of Southern Rhodesia. And again the close co-operation of our respective governments is of the utmost importance.

The policy suggested is no less important in relation to the remoter states, Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, Uganda. What their development will be is more obscure. In some, European settlement will be more

extensive and more rapid than in others. In all, close attention will be paid to the development of the native races. These countries offer to the Union opportunities similar in kind to those which it is anticipated will be offered by Northern Rhodesia, and already many of our men have taken advantage of them. But to most of us they seem very remote. We have not yet become accustomed to thinking of them as fellow African States—nor do they look on us with any strong feeling of affinity. It is here that the necessity of a changed habit of mind on our part and on theirs becomes of the first importance.

We should learn to take a real interest in them, to take advantage of the opportunities they offer of service and of benefit. It is possible that we shall be able to learn from them by observing in what manner and with what results they handle their problems of inter-racial relationships. In terms of the Mandate under which it holds Tanganyika, Great Britain is under the duty of administering that Territory particularly in the interest of its Native people. The work which is to be carried out in that country should be watched by us with the closest attention.

The necessity for co-operation between our government and the governments of these countries is just as great as it is in the case of South and North Rhodesia. The problems to be solved are African problems: the finding of the correct solution is of equal importance to us all. Collaboration may be more difficult on account of the distances which separate us, but it is

not impossible, and its advantages are so great that it should be seriously undertaken.

The form of government under which the people live, is, as we have tried to show, no obstacle to co-operation. The fact that European settlement in one may be more extensive than in another should make no difference: it is just as important to co-operate with Uganda, where for climatic reasons the population will, it seems, remain largely coloured, as it is to co-operate with Kenya, where the European settlement is stronger.

Even from the point of view of pure self-interest, we should realize that Europeans are not the only purchasers of the products which we are able to supply, we should welcome the rapid development of the Native people of Central and East Africa, and we should seize the opportunity which that development will offer for providing new markets for our goods.

In every case it is important for us to get to know the people and their Governments, to show them that in us they have a neighbour who is willing to give and to receive the benefits of neighbourly intercourse.

We must be careful to prevent the formation of several groups of states separated by barriers both sentimental and economic, from whose ignorance of each other suspicion and hostility may be bred.

The design should be to create one group of states allied by ties of kinship and of common interest who will work together in harmony for the common benefit of the peoples of Southern and Central Africa.

Chapter V.

THE FRANCHISE.

By O. D. Schreiner and W. H. Ramsbottom.

The present inquiry, in terms, relates to the franchise generally ; but it is not proposed to examine problems which arise wherever democracy is in operation. Even where South African experience provides unusually striking illustrations of certain general aspects of democratic government, we have thought it advisable to refrain from embarking upon a discussion of the questions involved. Remarkable in South Africa are the uneven allocation of seats between town and country and the non-representation of diffused minorities, notably in Natal and the Orange Free State. In South Africa also there is found the phenomenon of a minority of voters returning a majority of members to the legislature. But these are simply South African examples of the difficulties which attend the adoption of the system of single-member constituencies based on geographical divisions. The devices which have been put forward from time to time in order to meet these difficulties form an important field of inquiry in this as in other countries, but the franchise problem which most vitally affects South Africa is not how the right of voting is to be exercised by those who have it, but to what classes of persons and upon what basis the right is to be given. Our attention will thus be confined

to the problems created by the governing factor in South Africa, that is, the presence in a single state of different races at different stages of development.

We apprehend that the object to be aimed at is the evolution of a policy which will advance the social, political and economic well-being of all members of the state and produce a healthy, contented and progressive community. Fundamentally, all members of the state have the one great common interest, that it should prosper and progress. In comparison with this basic unity of interest, conflicts, real or apparent, between sectional interests are neither permanent nor important. It is the function of Governments to reconcile such conflicts and remove their causes, to the end that they may cease to hinder the advancement of the common good. In modern times these aims are sought to be achieved through the medium of legislative bodies elected by the suffrages of the people. It is conceivable that in the distant future humanity may devise a more efficient instrument; but for the present we are safe in assuming the persistence in South Africa of the ordinary forms of democratic government.

In any such system it is axiomatic that the member of a legislative body is the representative of all the citizens, without distinction. He is sent to Parliament not as an advocate of one group against another, but to legislate for the benefit of all. Any system in which this responsibility to the community as a whole is obscured is defective, and a serious danger arises

that Parliament, instead of being the mouthpiece of the people, may become an instrument of oppression.

In South Africa to-day the electorate is, save in the Cape Province, composed solely of Europeans[1], and there are great masses of the community who have no voice in the election of parliamentary representatives. It has frequently been pointed out that a system whereby a European community, acting through the forms of democracy, governs masses of only partially civilised humanity is far less satisfactory from the point of view of the latter than a despotism would be. The despot must regard himself as in some measure the trustee for all his subjects and responsible for their welfare. But the parliamentary representative, elected by an exclusively European electorate, must in the nature of things tend to look upon his responsibility as limited to the well-being of those who sent him to Parliament. The atmosphere of elections is not conducive to the propounding of doctrines of trusteeship towards the voteless, and the system does not often result in the election of persons in whom such doctrines are strongly developed. The proceedings of Parliament may be conducted by parties with one eye on the constituencies, but there is no pressing need to consider unduly the body of unrepresented opinion. White South Africa is not, we imagine, more selfish than other communities; but, human nature being what it is, it must be conceded that the

[1] In Natal, in an electorate of about 45,000, there are approximately 350 non-European voters, of whom three are natives. To that extent the precisionist may require the text to be qualified.

quasi-democratic form of Government obtaining to-day provides no satisfactory guarantee for the protection and development of the non-European majority of the community.

There is a tendency nowadays to belittle the importance of the vote. This tendency is to be found not only in those who question the merits of democracy itself. It is a view sometimes held by friends of the non-European population in this country, who say that the problem of the improvement of their condition is mainly an economic one. We have no serious quarrel with this statement, but it seems to lose sight of the fact that the economic aspect is very intimately connected with the legislation passed by Parliament. This has become increasingly evident in recent years, during which non-Europeans have come to view the prorogation of Parliament with relief and the resumption of its sittings with anxiety. Moreover, the importance of the vote as a badge of citizenship must not be overlooked. It identifies its holder fully with his country and strengthens his self-respect and his sense of responsibility towards the community.

The present condition of affairs calls for a remedy. And it is at this juncture that alterations in the system of representation or non-representation of Natives and coloured persons have been put forward in Parliament. It is, however, unfortunately incontestable that these proposals owed their origin less to an appreciation of the inadequacy of the present representation of non-Europeans than to a desire to curtail such

representation as exists. Briefly, the avowed intention is to deprive the Natives of the Cape Province of their long-enjoyed right to vote on the same basis as Europeans and to substitute a system of separate or communal representation for Natives and, with modification, for coloured persons throughout the Union. Into the details of the proposals which have undergone changes since they first made their appearance, we do not propose to enter. The exact scheme of representation for the Cape and for the Northern Provinces—what is to be the precise number of the few special representatives, and whether they are to sit in the House of Assembly or in the Senate—is in our view of no importance whatever. The essentials remain the same, and the basic idea is that the representation of non-Europeans is to be entirely separate from that of Europeans, and is, so far as present intentions can govern the matter, to remain fixed for all time.

At the back of these proposals lie certain beliefs and fears which require some notice. In the first place, it is difficult to eradicate from the minds of even intelligent persons the belief that there is an unavoidable conflict of interest between the Europeans of South Africa and the several other races of the sub-continent. Save in the sense that there may be clashes of interest upon occasion between groups of capitalists and groups of labourers, this belief appears to be without foundation. Essentially, as appears more fully from other chapters of this book, our real interests are one. A sound system

of representation will seek the reconciliation of such conflicts as may appear and not their perpetuation and intensification. To believe in the inevitability of conflict is to despair of our country's future. Allied to this belief is a fear, which is deep-rooted in the minds of many Europeans, that the non-Europeans will by unseen economic forces or otherwise drive out or overwhelm the Europeans. The economic aspect is dealt with elsewhere in this book, and certain of the fallacies underlying the fear complex are there, we think, convincingly exposed. For the rest, the fear is associated with a repressive policy and must disappear with it. The notion that we Europeans can indefinitely hinder the development of non-Europeans is a peculiar one. It is, of course, ethically indefensible as a policy, and its futility in the long run should be obvious. If repression were recognized to be impossible and in the place of the old attitude there were substituted one of co-operation in the progress and development of all sections of our country, every reason for the existing fear complex would be gone.

There are some people who even to-day associate problems of representation with the theory of segregation. What the merits or demerits of this theory might be in the abstract is a subject on which we do not care to waste time. For it is, as a matter of cold fact, a pure theory which can never be put into practice in South Africa. It is thus idle to speculate on the modifications of representative government which might have been entertained if segregation had been

practicable. Its entry into the problem to-day can only hinder clear thinking.

Whatever factors may be responsible for the present proposals, there is grave danger of their becoming law. The inherent weaknesses of the separate or communal system have been frequently pointed out and have been demonstrated in practice. The effect of such a system must be to increase the sense of difference of interest instead of emphasizing the essential unity. Members elected under such a system must necessarily come to regard themselves as representatives not of the whole community but of the particular section that has returned them. Members specially elected by non-Europeans would tend to be regarded as a species of crank, who might be expected to ventilate Native grievances at all times, seasonable or unseasonable, but not to contribute anything of value to the discussion of matters of general interest. The rest of the members, freed from such sense of responsibility towards non-Europeans as they had hitherto felt, would be able to devote themselves singlemindedly to the furtherance of European sectional interests.

It appears to be assumed by many that non-Europeans, and more particularly Natives, have certain special interests which may require consideration from time to time, but that, when these have been catered for, the rest of the process of legislation and government is an affair which really concerns Europeans alone. Than this there could be nothing more fallacious. There is no need to go into detail, beyond, perhaps

referring to so apparently general a matter as the Customs Tariff. It is unfortunately true that this tariff taxes very heavily certain articles which are used solely by Natives, while similar articles which are used by Europeans are subject to lighter duty. Some subjects of legislation naturally affect the non-European more nearly than others. He is obviously more interested in statutes governing wages and industrial conditions than in the Income Tax Acts. But there is really no department of state activity in which his interests are not involved, inasmuch as the general health of the governmental system reacts upon us all. Every member of Parliament in considering the effect of proposed legislation on the people of the country should be encouraged to bear in mind not those of his own race and type alone, but every section of the whole community. Such encouragement is not to be found in any system of communal or separate representation.

We have stated that the communal system has been tried elsewhere without success. The recent Donoughmore Report, dealing with its operation in Ceylon, says : " Communal representation was devised with a view to assisting the development of democratic institutions in countries of different races and religions, and in the hope of eliminating the clash of these various interests during elections. It was expected to provide, peacefully, an effective legislative assembly which would give a fair representation of the different elements in the population and would also tend to promote

unity. Unfortunately, the experiment has not given the desired results, but has had, if anything, the opposite effect. The representatives of the various communities do not trust one another, and communal representation has not helped to develop a uniting bond or link. The minority communities are fearful that any preponderance of governmental power held by another community will inevitably be used against them. . . . Communal representation in Ceylon has no great antiquity to commend it, and its introduction into the constitution with good intention has had unfortunate results."

The system has been tried in Kenya, and its advantages and disadvantages are well summarized on pages 207 *et seq.* of the Hilton Young Report. The conclusion of the majority is stated on page 210 to be " that, inasmuch as the progress of the territory must depend on co-operation between the races, the ideal to be aimed at is a common roll on an equal franchise with no discrimination between the races." The Chairman dissented from this view, holding that under the conditions of Kenya to-day the communal system should be retained, trusting to the future to decide which policy should ultimately prevail (page 249 A). The majority view has recently received the approval of the British government. As is well known, the communal system prevails in India, and it is recommended by the Simon Commission that it should remain until the Hindus and Mohammedans should be able to agree as to its dis-

appearance. But neither the members of the Simon Commission nor the framers of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report which inaugurated the present constitution have any doubts as to the defects of the system, which is recognized as being opposed to the teachings of history and as constituting a very serious hindrance to the development of the self-governing principle. It is only because of the unique position of India with its tragic religious divisions that the system was adopted in the first instance and is being continued to-day. It is indeed with obvious reluctance that the Simon Commission comes to the conclusion that the system must remain for the present, and that its abolition must be the result of agreement between the communities affected and not of the intervention of any third party. In South Africa there is no justification for resorting to such expedients. Such divisions as exist with us are as nothing compared with the dire religious cleavages of India. If we choose a system which is condemned by almost all who have studied it, we shall have no excuse. With our eyes open and with ample warning in the history of other communities, we shall be deliberately accepting the worse course and handing on a disastrous inheritance to our successors. It is not even as though we are handicapped by the absence of South African experience. The Common Roll has been in use in the Cape Province for some two generations and has worked well. The proposed legislation contemplates departing from that satisfactory system and substituting

for it a system which is unsound in principle and unfortunate in practice. The conclusion arrived at is that the present set of proposals should be abandoned, and that any system of representation which is introduced should rest upon the only sure foundation of a single electoral roll for all sections of the community.

The next point to be considered is the question who are to be placed on the single roll—who are to be entitled to vote. There appear to be three possibilities :

(i) All adults irrespective of race or qualification ;

(ii) All adults, irrespective of race, who possess certain qualifications ;

(iii) All European adults, without qualifications, and such non-European adults as possess certain qualifications.

(i). This may be dismissed shortly. We know of no expression of opinion by any person, European or non-European, in favour of the view that the general mass of non-Europeans, many of them emerging from barbarism, should all be given the vote.

(ii). This is the ideal as expressed in the language of the majority of the Hilton Young Commission. "A common roll on an equal franchise with no discrimination between the races." Its moral superiority to any other course is clear, and its achievement would be a monument to the wisdom and the justice of the Europeans of South Africa. The fact that to-day Europeans have the vote while, save in the Cape Province, non-Europeans are denied it, can find

justification only on the ground that civilization is the qualification. Whatever the arguments in favour of universal suffrage may be in other countries, in South Africa, where civilized and non-civilized are living side by side, very different considerations apply. There must be a qualification for the exercise of the franchise, and that should be the attainment of a certain standard of civilization. Once this is recognized, it follows on equitable principles that the qualification should be applied generally. We appreciate that this proposal involves a retracing of steps in regard to the franchise for Europeans in the Northern Provinces and a radical departure from the tendencies of the present day. Nothing that has occurred since the introduction of the franchise measure now before Parliament gives us any ground for hoping that the system of a common roll on an equal franchise has any prospect of becoming law in the early future. But we do not know what possible changes of public opinion lie before us, and we have faith that at some more favourable time the ideal may yet become the actual.

(iii). Assuming that the ideal of the Hilton Young Report cannot at present be achieved, there should be no serious practical obstacle in the way of retaining the European franchise as it is to-day, while defining a standard of civilization the attainment of which will entitle non-Europeans to be entered upon the single common roll. So far as the Cape is concerned, we should deprecate any retrogression from the principle of an equal qualification for all persons. The recent

grant of the franchise to all European women in that province, irrespective of qualification, however, presumably presages an extension of the vote to all European male adults there. It is unfortunate that the wise, just practice of our oldest province should thus indirectly have been undermined.

It is not, however, too late to preserve the vitally important principle of the common roll with its guarantee that the representatives will truly represent all sections of the community, even though it is based on a differential civilization qualification for non-Europeans. Serious consideration would naturally have to be given to the civilization qualifications. What is necessary in order to exercise a vote satisfactorily is a question which would meet with very different answers from different persons. We suggest, however, that a voter should be able to understand the system of Government. He should have some knowledge of current affairs and be able to read and follow what appears in the newspapers. This is a high standard, higher than is attained by many European voters in this and other countries. But reasonably high the standard should be. The best general test would be the attainment of some recognized level of education, such as Standard IV., V. or VI., which latter is the standard required for admission to skilled trades. As an alternative, but not additional, qualification may be suggested the earning of an income such as enables a man to live up to what we roughly recognize as a civilized standard. Whatever the qualification required,

be it high or low, it would have to be clear and definitely provable, entirely removed from the exercise of any official discretion. The test, in other words, should be wholly objective, and possession of the qualification should entitle the possessor to be declared a voter in a Court of Law. The policy of a common roll with a civilization qualification rests upon an appreciation that the vote confers not merely influence but power, and power should be entrusted only to those who are fit to use it. Those who are not fit, and the greater part of the Native population must for generations be in this position, will not have the vote. But this does not mean that they should be ignored. While they would be indirectly represented through their civilized brothers, their special views should still be ascertained through councils, commissions and conferences. As they attain a civilized standard and become full citizens, they would pass from the class of those whose only right is to have their grievances redressed, into the class of those who share in the task of redressing those grievances. And when they come to exercise their votes they would do so as citizens of South Africa electing members responsible to the community, and not as Natives choosing champions of their sectional interests.

In advocating the policy of a common electoral roll, we have not lost sight of the fear, genuinely entertained by many Europeans, that the Native may become the dominant factor in elections and that the European may thus be deprived of his leadership of the state.

This fear, though we believe it to be groundless, is entitled to far more respect than the general complex founded on repression to which we referred at an earlier stage of this paper. The view that it is groundless rests upon a number of considerations. In the first place, the history of the Cape franchise does not lend any support to the view that there would or could be any great or sudden growth in the numbers of non-European or Native voters if the vote were given to them in other provinces. Recently, a practice has grown up among party politicians of picturing the Cape Province as now undergoing a change whereby the Native vote is with startling rapidity becoming the decisive element at elections. These representations appear to be devoid of foundation in fact. Even with the present low Cape qualifications—and it is not suggested that these should be introduced into the rest of the Union—the growth of the number of Native voters is slow. When the figures of the voters in the different classes are examined, there is no difficulty in appreciating how remote is the possibility of the swamping of the European vote if a fair civilization qualification were to be introduced. (See Appendix.) It is only the ignorance of the majority of the voters of the actual figures that enables the more careless type of politician to put forward with such confidence the bogey of black domination. Were the facts ever to become such as to justify the view that the Native or non-European vote was likely to swamp the European, it would always be open to the still dominant Europeans

to raise the qualifications for the franchise and so strengthen their position at the polls. This was done at the Cape in 1887 and again in 1892. It is certainly far and away the least unsatisfactory method of retaining power, should such power ever be jeopardized.

The true answer, however, to these anxieties is that what is really dreaded is a swamping of European civilization by the forces of barbarism. But the civilized non-European has quite as much to gain as the European by opposing any pressure from the uncivilized which may endanger the position of the civilized. This is generally recognized by civilized non-Europeans. With the abandonment of repressive policies, the European has nothing to fear from even a large increase in the non-European electorate. The prestige of the European, if it is made to rest on merit and not on privilege, should, as far as we can see into the future, retain for him his commanding position. In adopting a policy, one presumably looks to the future and legislates to effect the object desired. The proposals at present before the country envisage a state of affairs in which the Native is for ever to be kept in a position of subjection, and is never to acquire citizenship. The country is for all time to be composed of two warring elements, each watching the other suspiciously and awaiting opportunities to do it injury and to profit at its expense. It is indeed a dismal prospect, and a policy which looks forward to such conditions as the permanent background of South African life should not lightly be embarked upon. If, as seems to be

clear, such a policy not only involves grave economic disadvantages for all sections of the community, but also ensures an eternity of subjection and agitation for the non-European and the development of a machine-gun mind in the European, it surely stands condemned. The other way is to guard, indeed, against the premature destruction of tribal life, but none the less to welcome and assist at every turn the advancement of the more backward sections of the community; not to be fearful at the rapidity of their progress, but rather to be impatient at its inevitable slowness. Along such lines the future must be full of hope for all South Africans.

If effect is to be given to such a policy in the political field, schemes of separate or communal representation must be put behind us. Confident in the wisdom of co-operation, we should readily accord to all who merit it the full measure of South African citizenship and thus build our political system, not upon the treacherous basis of sectional interest, but upon the broad and sure foundation of a common civilization.

APPENDIX.

INCREASE OF NATIVE VOTERS.

The following particulars are taken from an address given by the late Hon. J. W. Jagger on 15th January, 1930:

"During the twenty-three years from 1903 to December 31st, 1926, the Cape Native vote increased from 8,117 to 14,912 or 6,795 votes, equal to 295 per annum.

"During the same period the Cape European vote increased from 114,450 to 162,323 or 47,873 votes, equal to 2,081 per annum.

"The net increase of European over Native votes in the Cape Province was, therefore, 1,786 per annum, and the total European gain during the twenty-three years 41,078. On the 31st December, 1926, the excess of European over Native votes in the Cape Province was 147,411."

Thus over the period under survey the increase of European voters was seven times that of Native voters.

In an address given by the Hon. H. Burton on 21st March, 1930, the following facts are stated: "The rolls framed in 1929 show that, out of a total of 452,000 voters in the Union, there were no less than 410,000 Europeans, the balance being made up of Coloured, Asiatics, Malays and Natives. Now, according to the official figures, the total number of European females in the Cape rose from about 337,000 in 1924 to about 354,000 in 1927, an increase in the

three years of over 17,000. The number in 1930 may therefore be estimated at not less than 372,000. In 1921, out of a total of 737,000 European females in the Union, 374,000 were over 21. It is therefore probable that, when the new bill comes into operation, about 190,000 women in the Cape Province will be entitled to the franchise and, in the whole Union, about 440,000. This means that, whereas the European vote for the Union at present numbers 410,000 out of 452,000 or over 90 per cent, it will, with the enfranchisement of the women, be raised to 850,000 out of a total of 892,000 or over 95 per cent. I have only to add that, out of the balance of about 42,000 voters the Natives count only about 15,000—15,000 out of 892,000 or only about $1\frac{2}{3}$ per cent! Surely, in the light of these figures, the argument that we are in danger of being swamped by the Native vote is reduced almost *ad absurdum*."

In short, the approximate percentages, when the new Voters' Rolls are compiled, would be :

European	95·3%
Coloured, etc.	3·0%
Native	1·7%

SECTION II.

ECONOMIC.

Chapter I.

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC INEQUALITY.

The Poor White and the Native.

By S. Herbert Frankel and E. H. Brookes.

A. ORIGINS.

It is remarkable that there has so far been no serious attempt either to analyse the actual position which the Native peoples occupy in the economic organization of the Union, or to estimate the effect their past economic status has had and a different economic status would have, on the economic position of the European section of the community.

This is not to say that the European electorate does not realize that its economic welfare is affected in myriad ways by the presence of the Native. On the contrary, the existence of a multitude of contradictory regulations dealing with the latter's economic activities —varying as they do from attempts to remedy an alleged shortage of Native labour by attracting more Natives into the European economy, to endeavours to remedy European unemployment by ejecting them from it—show rather that what is really lacking is an understanding of how, through what channels, in what manner, and with what results, the Native peoples influence the South African economy.

It is this lack of understanding that accounts for the fact that not only is the cause of many European economic ills, which are in reality due to the present economic position of the Native, frequently overlooked, but also that other economic maladjustments (as, for example, the position of the Poor Whites, with which we propose to deal in this chapter), which are primarily due to different causes, are hastily ascribed to the same influence, with the result that remedies are frequently attempted which but intensify the evils it is hoped to remove.

Moreover, this confusion is aggravated by the unwarranted tendency to speak of the "Native question" as if it could be isolated from the main currents of South African life—a tendency which is enhanced by the official nomenclature which suggests that "Native Affairs" are matters apart. As a result the fact is ignored that there can only be one South African economy that for good or ill each part of that economy, be it agricultural or industrial, poor or rich, economically strong or weak, black or white, is indissolubly linked to, and influenced by, and in turn influences, every other part.[1]

The Economic and Wage Commission of 1925 strongly emphasized the urgent need for investigating the part that was played in the South African economy by the Native peoples and the Native worker, but, although much time has been devoted since that date to

[1] Even in the realm of politics one sometimes feels that the country would have benefited in recent years had the problem of the Cape Franchise been treated as part of one large franchise question, instead of as a separate "Native" problem.

the comparatively minor subject of the franchise, it is only in 1930 that the Government has approved of a Commission to investigate certain aspects of the question. Although the terms of reference of this Commission are comparatively narrow, the appointment of an investigating body of this kind is to be regarded as a step in the right direction. Nevertheless it remains doubtful whether the methods of either the Census and Statistics Office or that of Public Commissions can alone give us the key to the present situation. The roots of South Africa's economic and sociological problems lie buried deeply in its past history, and an unbiassed consideration of how its problems have grown is perhaps more important as an approach to a clearer understanding of them than any other method of analysis. Fortunately the book of South African history has not remained unread; rather have the lessons unearthed during long years of patient study by such men as Professor W. M. Macmillan (to whose painstaking, challenging books[1] on the history of Native policy we are indebted for many of the thoughts expressed in the following pages) passed unnoticed by legislators immersed in so-called immediate problems, or blinded by ignorant fears and prejudices.

This chapter, therefore, will deal mainly from a new angle with two questions up till now usually referred to respectively as the Poor White Problem and the economic aspects of the Native Problem.

[1] "*The Cape Colour Question*"; "*Bantu, Boer and Briton*" and "*Complex South Africa.*"

They will, however, not be examined separately, but as one problem in which the economic welfare of white and black are especially strongly interrelated. Indeed, sections of both races here together form a part of the South African economy which suffers from grave disabilities and inequalities as opposed to the rest of the nation. Their economic underdevelopment forms a dangerous cancer in our economic organization, and is the main cause of many far-reaching economic maladjustments. It will be our task to analyse this state of affairs, indicate its causes, examine its effects, and propose remedies by which the Union can extricate itself from its retarding influences.

It is necessary to deal with an objection that might be raised to the procedure we propose to adopt. It has been frequently argued that in the relationship of the Native and White peoples in this country social and political factors are involved which are so important in their significance that the corresponding economic issues cannot be considered on their own merits. The view is here put forward, however, that if the economic facts in the position are analysed and separated from the frequently deliberate political confusions and vague fallacies in which they are now clothed they will be found to be the really dominating factors in the situation. The social and political issues to which unfortunately we tend habitually to give first thought, and which are frequently emphasized by some for unworthy purposes, are in fact not urgent.

The really pressing problem is one of bringing about harmonious production, of raising the economic status of the Union and of increasing the welfare and contentment, unmarred by the strife of misunderstanding, of the greatest number of its inhabitants.

That this is the case is made clear if we examine the state of mind even of those who are loudest in their expression of the view that social and political questions are the most important. The matters which really arouse the interest of the farmer and landowner are those concerning land and labour, and the clamorous support they apparently give to the policy of segregation as being socially and politically desirable is either based on a convenient illusion or is merely lip-service. With a wonderful naïveté wealthy farmers, and absentee lawyer landlords, put forward the view that the Native must be "segregated" from the towns—to increase the supply of "cheap" farm labour, not, be it noted, to build up tribal areas where Natives may indeed develop independently. Similarly, any candidate for a rural constituency may find segregation a profitable election cry, provided that the Native areas which must be a part of any segregation policy are as far removed from his auditors as possible, and provided that the candidate takes good care not to draw attention to the fact that this segregation must of necessity involve a diminution of their "cheap" labour supplies, as well as a transfer of certain European lands to Native ownership.

Segregation, if it could ever have been a success, would have had to be put into practice long ago when land was still easily available and when vested interests were few and recent. Moreover, it is doubtful if even then that complete separation of two economies within one nation, which the policy logically implies, could have been brought about. In any case, by now we have probably already crossed once and for all time the dividing line between improbability and impossibility. If not, we shall certainly have long crossed it before the majority of the South African people have been converted to a real belief in segregation—that is, to a readiness to make the heavy sacrifices and endure the inconvenience of smoothing out the maladjustments which will have to be faced if segregation is adopted.

That is why men who in the past have approached Native policy from very different angles are to-day at one on the real facts of that situation. Segregationists have had by the logic of facts to acknowledge the futility of attempting to frame policies and theories which isolate Native economic life from the general economic life of the community. No doubt it is very desirable that the Native reserves already in existence should continue to exist for the present, and it is certainly most important that the inhabitants remaining in them should be taught and enabled by the allocation of larger amounts of land and by the emigration of surplus population to utilize them to the maximum limits of production. But it is clear

that even these Natives will contribute to, and be governed by, the general economic position of the Union. From all points of view, therefore, we are again brought back to the realization that the task before us is not to elaborate a special or separate economic policy for the Native peoples, but to study the problems of the national economy as a whole.

Half a century ago that problem hardly existed. Except for a small portion of the Cape the economic activities of South Africa were few, and the wants of its European inhabitants were satisfied by a primitive form of subsistence farming, which was in reality little else than the pastoralism of the Natives whose land they had taken, combined with hunting and the satisfaction of a few modern wants by a small amount of exchange with the outside world. Any general form of arable farming was prevented by the fact that these pioneers lacked communications and markets, and that for a long time they were subject, on the borders of Native areas, to the risk of war, not to mention the general hardships of climate and disease. Most important of all, a form of settled agriculture was prevented by the fatal attractions of the trek, and of the relatively easy existence on large extensive areas of land to be had by merely taking them, and to be looked after by labour obtainable by the mere commanding. As Professor Macmillan has pointed out, "already by the time that the advancing Dutch colonists came into rivalry with the more formidable Bantu, they came no longer as intensive agriculturists,

but as land-hungry pastoralists and hunters, with needs very much like those of the Bantu themselves. . . . . And the wholesale appropriation of what was once Native land enormously increased the dispersal of the European population, thus killing any hope of really sound white agriculture ; while the ' extermination ' of Natives yet left such masses of them at the beck and call of farmers as to perpetuate the ill effects of earlier colonial dependence on slave labour."[1] It is this early state of affairs that shows the origin of the passion for large farms, and the beginnings of the now traditional forms of extensive agriculture. In this long process of dispersal there was practically no economic relationship of a modern type between the White and Native peoples. The problem had for long been merely a military one, and after the conquest of Bantu power administrative questions and the problem of providing for Native land needs were dealt with by military methods. Early policy, ranging as it did from the provision of relatively large areas as in Natal, to the setting aside of practically no specific land for Natives as in the Free State, in any case only too often regarded the conquered as existing solely for the benefit of the conquerors. In so far as the Native was needed he was allowed to remain ; otherwise he was pushed back further and further into smaller areas of his own.

And here attention should be drawn to the psychology which dominates a policy of this nature.

[1] *Complex South Africa*, by W. M. Macmillan. London. 1930. Faber and Faber.

It is compounded of an instinctive military attitude on the one hand, which fears the Native, does not understand or want to understand him, seeking rather to keep him at arm's length from white civilization, and on the other a calculating selfish attitude which recognizes that it is conveniently in the immediate interests of the White land-owner to have the Native's labour, no matter how inefficient it might be—so long as it is plentiful and very cheap.

This mental attitude, combined with the characteristic previously noted, that the conquerors legislated at all times in what they, not always with justification, thought to be their own interests, rather than in the combined interest of both races in South Africa, is illustrated over and over again in the legislation of the past.

The location system, for example as it was eventually adopted in Natal, was the outcome of two different fears. The one that the large immigration of Natives would swamp the White areas—the other, that if they were placed in a compact area of their own they would be unavailable for labour purposes. Sir George Grey put the matter succinctly as follows: "Permanent locations should be established within the Colony; and in selecting the sites of these locations sufficient intervals should be left between each of them for the spread of White settlements: each European immigrant would thus have it in his power to draw supplies of labour from the location in his more immediate proximity."

This simple *ad hoc* solution of the problem could clearly last only so long as the conditions it served remained the same. It was bound to be of only temporary value, as the increase in population alone would of necessity put an end to the mere taking up of new land, parcelling out more and more locations, and leaving the Natives smaller and smaller areas. Moreover, inherent in this primitive economic organization there was another factor of instability destined to lead to grave economic disturbances. For it contained within it the germs of growth of two classes likely to fail badly in their efforts to keep abreast of the economic development of the rest of the community. First, those who had been unable to obtain sufficient land on the terms of their fathers and were not strong enough to move on to carve out for themselves afresh the large areas which were essential for successful existence under the dominant subsistence economy, and who had therefore to be content with poorer and smaller areas of land, acquired mostly through the process of subdivided inheritances. On these areas they were almost bound to fail, since the farming methods with which they were acquainted were those suited only to the extensive and primitive methods of exploitation of large landowners working with much "cheap" labour. This first class therefore tended always to sink to the level of the second class: those who, forced to give up even the small areas they owned, became directly dependent on land-owning relatives, for whom they worked in one capacity or

another, but without any real economic status. For the dominating South African economy as we have seen was that of the landowner valuing his land, owing to historical conditions, not for the sake of efficient exploitation, but in the main for two things—because it gave an independent home for white men and command over the cheap labour of black men. Into this form of organization the Whites who were not land-owners did not really fit. Although for reasons of kindness, kinship or humanity, the land-owner would be willing to make his home a home also for his more unfortunate kinsmen, his lack of acquaintance with the principles of organization suited to a money economy, and connected with the markets of the outside world, made it impossible for him to realize the potential value of these "poor relations," or the rich returns to be reaped if they could by a proper system of reward, security and financial assistance be roused to effort, trained to skill and led to form renewed hopes on the land which was slipping from their grasp. And it is not to be wondered at that the ignorance of the old land-owning classes, their stubborn hold on the land and their equally stubborn opposition to modern methods of finance and intensive culture should have led, and could in fact only lead, to a still further degradation of these people owing to the manner in which the benefits of training, education and, above all, the self-interest and spur of opportunity were denied them. Thus it was that these landless Europeans became at last what they were treated as—Poor Whites :

regarded as little more fit economically than that other section of the South African economy from which the opportunity for economic improvement was withheld by the same system.[1]

It has been held that the economy which we have described might, if the pace of development had continued to be set by the pioneer land-owner population, have grown into a modern form of agriculture. To our mind such a solution was in any case a doubtful possibility unless circumstances had arisen which would have been strong enough to break down the traditional outlook of the powerful landowning class. That class, it will be noted, knew practically nothing of modern forms of agriculture, of the use of capital, credit and money, of costing and account-keeping, of mechanical methods, of the outside world and all it could provide and had in turn to offer. But, worse than this, it knew nothing of the efficient use of labour, whether black or white, and as far as the latter was concerned it had no economic interest in it, however strong the bonds of sentiment and kinship might be. It provided no secure, or even moderately efficient,

[1] It is significant that the conditions in the old Southern States of America provide an interesting parallel to the developments, the origin of which in South Africa, is indicated above. Thus in a special survey of the Negro in America, published in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, we find the following observations: "A popular misconception is that the old South was exclusively, or at least by large majority, of the slaveholding class. The facts are that only one-fourth of the white population in 1860 were of this class. However, the political, social and economic life of the ante-bellum South was in the control of the slave-holding minority. . . . . The institution of slavery had kept the white majority from wealth, culture or political experience. "Poor Whites," they were called, and, while conditions among them varied, the non-slaveholding white Southerner was as a class backward and unprivileged. . . . . In the old days the skilled labour in the South was almost wholly in the hands of Negroes. . . . . The poor white man was 'lazy and shiftless' because there was no opportunity for him to be otherwise."

system of land tenure for it, no ladder by which the poor non-landowning agriculturist might be able, and be stimulated, to rise to better things. On the contrary, in this paradise of the pioneer, but according to modern standards tragically inefficient, land-owner, living for himself rather than as a productive unit of society, there was room for no other Whites but those degraded, by a system which did not know how to use them, to the inefficient level of masses of ignorant Native labourers.

How strong were these dominant economic traditions is proved by the small extent to which they were altered by the un-dreamt-of economic developments that occurred within a generation. For with the discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa there began that great economic transition which is not yet completed: the growth of a subsistence economy of a small scattered community into a modern state, basing its welfare on modern forms of production for world markets. The new contacts with the outside world, it might have been thought, would break down the over-emphasis on land-ownership that had so far existed. The contrary was, however, the case. The overvaluation of land as land, and the strangle-hold of the landowner on the rest of the economic society increased rather than diminished. For land—and for the most part it remained uncultivated land—had now an added value to its providing an independent home for men and servants; it might be the source of rich mineral wealth, and it was in any case the basis for

easily obtainable mortgages and for the unearned increments by which its value rose owing to the growth of population and the development of the society as a whole. The fever of mining and land speculation that ran through the country in the last quarter of the nineteenth century gave to the owners of land command of unearned wealth as easily as they had obtained command of their lands in the first instance. Even to the Poor Whites and small landowners it brought a brief and intoxicating period of relative prosperity: the new occupation of transport riding, the wealth of diamond diggings and developing mines sufficed to hide the fact that with the still greater mania for land ownership and its soaring values, their future would if anything spell worse conditions and greater hardship. For the dominant land-owning class (to whom were now added large land-owning companies), though their wealth had changed, had neither improved their farming methods nor increased their knowledge; and their inadaptability to a modern monetary community remained the same. The economic changes that had occurred were not strong enough to break down the ignorant wastage both of European and Native labour, or even to call forth a form of at least White tenancy that was efficient and secure. On the contrary, the landowner to this day attempts to fight his economic battle with the old weapon: the increase of his ownership of land—no matter how much remains uncultivated—carrying on such farming as he is capable of with the old

methods and the use of "cheap" servile Native labour, which requires the minimum of liquid capital for the payment of its meagre wages. This is where the transition to modern forms of production, modern standards of living and modern interests has so tragically failed in South Africa. It is true, as President Kruger used to say, that the younger generation of South Africans, and newcomers to the country, all too frequently fail to realize the magnitude of the task, and of the achievement, of the old pioneers. But it is unfortunately equally true that the same generation has not yet learned where and why the old way of life in South Africa falls short of what the present demands, and how impossible it is to build a modern State according to economic principles, habits, and systems of labour, suitable to the conditions of the eighteenth rather than the twentieth century. That is the basic reason why, no matter how rapidly it is drained to the towns, the reservoir of Poor Whites withal cannot be emptied.

Professor Macmillan has in trenchant detail outlined how the tragic process continues, and there is no need for further discussion of it here. Reference, however, should be made to the fact that with all the subdivision and redivision of land, which is a corollary of the process, areas in the possession of large or absentee landowners, and the resultant stretches of wasted uncultivated land, do not dwindle, for the passion for large farms fractionally worked by cheap labour

continues unabated. As Professor Macmillan writes[1] : " The break-up of old estates and the breakdown of the weaker landowners is the opportunity for the bigger man to make his farm still bigger . . . . one Karroo farmer . . . . amassed over a period of 25 years nearly 7,000 morgen of one subdivided farm in at least fourteen separate instalments. Other great landlords go round to examine fields and fragments of farms, with a view to adding to their own already possibly 30,000 morgen or more, when a forced sale has made the price sufficiently " favourable." In one way or another, the poor man is being forced off his own land to live as best he may . . . . while big men and lawyers continue to add acre to acre."

Just as the system of large landownership has driven the poor man off the land, so it is this system which is largely responsible for the parallel policy developed towards the Native peoples to ensure that the supply of cheap, inefficient, untrained Native labour, kept in a state approaching serfdom, would continue to be available.

By the beginning of the 20th century the location system had been adopted to an increasing extent in other parts of South Africa, and in addition the Native had advanced to such an extent in his desire to adopt European methods as to bring about the increasing purchase or leasing of land by and for Natives in every part of the country. (In the Orange Free State, however, purchase, though not leasing, was forbidden.)

[1] *Complex South Africa.*

The short-sighted outlook of the dominating agricultural class and White employers was able to see in this situation only one problem—the danger that with the increased number of locations, and the independent ownership of land by Natives, the labour supply might become insufficient for their needs ; the growth of the amount of land in Native possession must, therefore, be limited. For was not the Native penetrating too deeply into the European areas, and was not the ideal of a " White South Africa " in danger ?

What more natural conclusion from these premises than that which in essence the Commission of 1903–05 recommended, and the Land Act of 1913 incorporated ? The amount of land available for Natives must be defined and limited, the locations must not be allowed to encroach further on the white areas, and the Native leasing or ownership of land in them must be prohibited.

The policy, therefore, that was adopted aimed once again merely at keeping the Native in his own areas with little or no interest as to what happened to him there, with no attempt to prevent these areas being ruined by overcrowding, by lack of communications, fuel, and proper agricultural methods. The Native was to continue to be kept in these areas of ignorance as far as this was compatible with obtaining his services as a hewer of wood and a drawer of water—and above all, outside of them, a hewer of wood and a drawer of water he was to remain. For who could expect that an economically backward land-owning

community, unable even to devise for its kinsmen a system by means of which they would be able to prosper on the land, would understand the economy of training Natives in agriculture, or of raising their productive capacity by a suitable system of tenure.

In a policy of this nature there was naturally also no room for the plea made in the Minority Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903–5, for doing away with the free land to Natives under the system of communal tenure in the Reserves, in order thereby gradually to break down the outworn tribalism, inefficient communal occupation of land, inertia and comparative unprogressiveness of the mass, and to raise the manner of living of the Natives, making them more valuable to themselves and to the country. In only one area were attempts made to put far-sighted views such as these into practice—in the Transkei, under the outstanding Glen Grey legislation ; but this was an exception to the rule that was adopted in the rest of South Africa: that economically the subject races were not to be regarded as an undeveloped asset but as a source of cheap, untrained labour for a minority of the European population.

And the tragic irony of this state of affairs, existing as it does to the very present, is that through it all the Poor White, who has suffered most by the policy adopted, actually gave, on sentimental grounds, his political support to the very system of production under which he was being driven off the land. That policy consisted in all those legislative and traditional

restrictions for holding down the Natives to the inferior, untrained, and ill-paid level at which it was profitable, and practically unavoidable that they should be substituted en mass for white labour. Even now the old game continues to be played under a new name, and the poverty-stricken White is made to compete with the poverty-stricken Native in the towns.

It will be convenient here, before analysing its effects, to summarize the characteristics of the policy adopted towards the economically oppressed sections of the community with which we have so far dealt. For the mental attitude towards the subject races has, as recent legislation shows only too clearly, changed little and appears, if anything, to attempt to apply the same erroneous beliefs of the past more radically in the present.

The main characteristics of this type of legislation, then, are as follows :

I. It is mainly of a haphazard character, appealing mostly to the vacillating emotions of the more ignorant sections of the electorate, and is correspondingly devoid of statesmanlike vision.

II. Economically it sees only one problem—the supply of cheap, unskilled, docile labour. It is particularly impressed with this problem as it knows little of the " economy of high wages " and less of the diseconomy and appalling wastes involved in the policy of unduly low wages or the exploitation of large masses of wage earners.

III. It fears the development of Natives as agricultural tenants outside the scheduled Native areas, taking no account of the possible beneficial reactions of such a development on the general economic condition of the country. It assumes, on the contrary, that unskilled labour is the highest form of economic activity in the subject races which the European can in safety allow.

IV. It makes no determined effort to grapple with the root causes of the Poor White problem, and to bring about such changes in the traditional methods of agriculture as will prevent the continuance of the degradation of this unfortunate section of the community.

V. It does not appear to see any possible connection between economic conditions in the Native areas and those in the Union as a whole.

VI. It is for the most part oblivious to the economic effects of an incredibly large number of petty regulations dealing with the freedom of movement, of residence and work of Natives and sees no connection between the waste of the time and effort of this section of the community and that of the productivity of the society as a whole.

B. EFFECTS.

What, then, have been the effects of this policy?

First, on the general economic organization and efforts of the community.

It has been said that the most striking thing to a student of South African problems is the interpenetration of the Native into every accessible place of the European community, and the fact that the Native has become the foundation of the whole economic structure. What is perhaps more striking than the huge foundation itself is the extraordinary low standard of life, low efficiency and correspondingly low productive capacity of those of which it is composed.

The Report of the Economic and Wage Commission drew attention to the low National Income of this country. International comparisons of estimates of National Income are rightly regarded as open to considerable error, as difficult to arrive at and as subject to various interpretations and many qualifications. Nevertheless the following comparative table of the post-war position in the Union which the Commission prepared is so striking that its main lesson cannot be mistaken.

ESTIMATES OF NATIONAL INCOME AND INCOME PER HEAD.

Post-War.

Country.	Aggregate Income.	Per Head of Population.	Per Occupied Person.
	£ million	£	£
Australia (1923) (Shirras)	430	78	178
Canada (1922) (Official) ..	4,000 } $ million }	$450 } £100 }	$1,130 } £260 }
U.S.A. (1919) (Bureau of Economic Research) ..	66,800 } $ million }	$637	$1,690
South Africa (1923) ..	186	26	43
South Africa (excluding Native Reserves and Locations)	178	—	96

It will be noted that the National Income per occupied person in South Africa, excluding Native Reserves and Locations, was only £96 per annum in 1923, which was only a little over half of the corresponding figure for Australia, a little over a third of that for Canada, and a little over a quarter of that for the United States.

It is, however, doubtful whether even so the figure adequately portrays the economic situation in our country. It has long been customary in South Africa to attempt to express statistics such as the above in relation to the number of Europeans only. This is a most unfortunate and misleading habit. It was trenchantly referred to by the Economic and Wage Commissioners in relation to the question of the National Income in the following words: "The total income for the year 1923 was £186,000,000 which was the fund from which all the wages, salaries, interest, rent, profits, and taxes had to come. This gave a figure of £26 per head of total population and £43 per head of occupied population. The average income of Europeans in South Africa is much higher than either of these figures, and some estimates have been made which separate the European from the Native income. This is a legitimate procedure if it is desired merely to show how the National Income is, in fact, divided between the two sections of the population; it cannot, however, be taken as necessarily representing the importance of their respective contributions to production. The National Income is the product of industry

(including agriculture and personal services) as a whole; it is the product, therefore, of an intimate and indissoluble co-operation between Europeans and Natives." Although for convenience of statistical comparison it may be desirable to exclude the purely Native production in the Native areas, because the figure in fact is such a shamefully small one per head of the population in those areas, nevertheless the very fact that it can be excluded for this reason shows that the potential resources of these areas have not been developed. If anything, therefore, the figure of £26 as the total income per head of the population of the Union of South Africa is the one which we should use as an indication of the result of our economic efforts.

Neither the latter figure nor the figure of an average income of £96 per occupied person (in European areas only) is really surprising when it is borne in mind that the policy on which South Africa has built its economic structure has for generations been one of using the maximum amount of cheap labour. 89 per cent. of the Union's workers in mining, 60 per cent. in manufacturing, and 74 per cent. in agriculture are non-Europeans—that is, mostly Natives, whose wages are very rarely more than £4 and are on the average only about £2 per month. The policy of flooding the Union economy with cheap labour has indeed succeeded with a vengeance. The Union is to-day reaping the fruits of the ludicrous naïveté of an economically ignorant land-owning and subsistence-farming community which allowed itself seriously to think that the

less wages were paid for labour the cheaper it would be. Opinions as to the intelligence and adaptability to modern conditions of the Native peoples may differ. There is not the slightest reason to believe, however, what would be such a comforting thought to many European employers, that the Native who has had a sufficient period of contact with European economic organization will continue to work as hard, as interestedly, or as intelligently, irrespective of whether he receives a reasonable or an unreasonable wage, particularly if the latter implies in the towns a losing struggle with such abject poverty that health, rest, and the basic necessities of life and vigour cannot be obtained. There is also no reason to share another naïve view which dominates the European economic outlook in this country. This is to the effect that in general the average employer makes the best possible use of Native labour, and that any differences between its productivity and that of the labour of others in this country or overseas is due largely to inherent shortcomings of the Native worker. For it is a well-known fact that, the less that has to be paid for labour, or anything else, the more laxly will it be used. As it does not cost much to obtain, it will be misapplied, and its productivity will be correspondingly low. Moreover, it will not be regarded as worth special attention or training, and nothing will therefore be done to improve its efficiency. The retort, therefore, that Native labour is being paid what it is worth—that is, in accordance with its actual productivity, apart

from its being incorrect in a large number of industries, where the Native does not even get the full amount that he produces—in general confuses cause and effect, the real facts being that his productivity is low because he can be induced to take a low wage, and can be, and is, put to work on tasks which do, in fact, only yield a low wage. If his wage were higher, he would be taught, or at least given the opportunity of more intense, better organized, and more productive work, and the low-paid tasks would have to be eliminated, or done by mechanical means.

It is obvious, therefore, why the mere substitution of White for Native labour in these tasks is an undesirable and harmful policy. It increases the supply of workers offering and subsidized (!) to work at these low-paid tasks, whereas what is necessary instead is that the existing unhealthy oversupply should cease.

It will be advantageous at this stage to examine the real implications of " the cheap Native labour policy " a little more closely.

They are most strikingly characterized by the position of the farm Native. As we have seen, the actual labour in farming in the greater part of the Union is to-day carried out almost entirely by Natives, partly by Native squatters and tenants, and it is probably the most inefficient in the country.

" The farm Native," it was said in evidence to the Economic and Wage Commission, " is the most backward, being little reached by school or church

unless he happens to be near a location—he is thus at the very bottom of the scale." That most shrewd observer, Professor Macmillan, describes the position of these wretched workers as follows : "As far as the development of the resources of the country is concerned, the labour of the farm Native is wasted. Too often he is tied to a badly-worked farm where he gets no pay either for himself or for the services of his family, who are kept at the casual beck and call of the master, subject at all times to three months' notice, and unable to move if he wished for fear his family be evicted. Meanwhile the better farmers, the mines and the industries are constantly hampered by shortage of labour. Under such farm conditions work cannot be continuous, a great many of the Natives being grossly under-employed and hardly learning even the discipline of work. This whole class of labour is so immobile that the proportion of Transvaal Natives employed in Transvaal mines and works is negligible . . . . Natal with its huge Native population draws largely on Pondoland for work on the sugar estates. Even high-veld maize farmers about Bethal draw supplies of labour from the Cape Reserves, from anywhere except from the neighbouring Low Veld. This unequal distribution is to the country as a whole one of the many evils resulting from the resolute refusal to treat landless farm Natives as anything but a convenience for farmers[1]." That the farm Native is

[1] *Complex South Africa.*

thus "at the very bottom of the scale" and that, whenever he can do so without risk of reprisals to his family or without risk of infringing some outworn and now merely foolish pass regulation, he flees to the towns, is not surprising. Practically nothing is done to train him to any better purpose than the doing of unskilled manual labour. Except on advanced European farms he is most frequently not paid a money wage at all, his services being obtained from him in return for his and his family's right of "squatting." Moreover, even if he should improve in efficiency, his freedom of movement is so hampered that it will be difficult for him to obtain for his labour a higher or fairer price. Working as he does for a wage, or customary reward in kind, which in actual fact increased efficiency will generally do little, if anything, to raise, and confronted with the practical impossibility of obtaining land on which he might eventually rise to an independent position, he has absolutely no incentive to increased efficiency. And so, quite naturally, and rightly, he takes the contrary line of action, working only long enough, and intensely enough, to obtain the minimum for subsistence, and to avoid dismissal, and giving the employer just the amount of productive labour which he deserves to get.[1]

[1] Professor W. M. Macmillan in his *Complex South Africa* quotes the letter of an obviously well-informed "Farmer" who writes to the *Star* in December, 1929, describing how a faithful and energetic labourer, known for his speed and energy by the name of "Bicycle," whom he employed at £2 a month, asked for a holiday. To his surprise only a few weeks later he found the boy working for a neighbour, and asking for an explanation was told that as this Baas paid only 15 shillings a month, Bicycle was doing only 15 shillings worth of work!

The efficiency of the Native worker in the towns is a little higher than that of the farm Native, though he is subject to as many of the same or more refined disabilities. His wages, in spite of certain encouraging decisions of the Wage Board, are in most callings limited to a customary maximum which even the huge changes in the value of money were barely able to alter, a maximum insufficient for anything but a hopeless struggle against poverty in the expensive towns and unavailing as a means to obtaining independence in the country. Domestic service is to a certain extent an exception in the Witwatersrand area and perhaps to some extent elsewhere, but it is an exception which throws the generally inefficient use of labour in South Africa into high relief. It is in any case a remarkable fact that as a rule the highest wages that an able-bodied, intelligent (domestic service requires a high degree of training and intelligence) Native male worker can command are in domestic service, an occupation in most other countries left to women, rather than that the capabilities of such workers should be put to better use in other occupations. It is also of interest in showing that where Europeans have through intimate contact been able for themselves to test out the economy of a relative high wage with corresponding excellence of service, they do not hesitate to apply it. The majority of these individuals acting as a social group seem, however, unhesitatingly to ignore the same principle in the more important sphere of production in factories, mines, on farms, or in commerce. In fact, the only

ray of hope in the present situation is that the urban Native is beginning to find a few employers who have realized the value of somewhat higher wages, and of giving and teaching the Native more responsible work. But the mass of the European community blindly follows, through custom, social pressure, legislation and inertia the mistaken policy of the past, and as long as this attitude persists the lot of the Native can only be improved by methods which will rouse strong opposition on the part of that same European community. It is not, of course, intended to suggest that either the Natives or the community will benefit by unconstitutional methods or irresponsible agitation. All the more reason why other methods of relief should be provided.

It is necessary to refer here to the view which has long been held that, under this deplorable state of affairs, the Native population is at least " protected against exploitation " by the Native reserves " because they give him an alternative to accepting employment on unjust terms." Unfortunately, the Economic and Wage Commission itself found six years ago, that the reserves are and have long been, entirely inadequate for any form of modern agriculture for the majority of their inhabitants. It is true that there are some whose statistical is apparently better than their economic training, who think that the problem can still be solved by making an allotment in these reserves, which is too small for remunerative agricultural purposes when it consists of say, two morgen, suffice

when it is cut down to one morgen per inhabitant. In general, however, it is a matter of common knowledge that the reserves have either to be drastically enlarged, or equally drastically drained of some of the surplus population in them.

It is not possible in the limits of this chapter to analyse in detail the position in the Native reserves. Nor is it necessary, as it has in any case been done already by Professor Macmillan ; in doing so he finally buried the conscience-comforting " South African *idée fixe* that the Native is a lucky being, able to live on very little, working only when it suits him—passing lightly between town house and country seat ! " The contrary is, of course, the case. Thus the "locations in Natal are heavily overpopulated, utterly dependent on wage-earning outside, and grossly neglected." And this description is probably fair for the greater part of the reserves all over the country, with their lack of transport facilities, roads and bridges ; their greater and greater soil erosion, due to the denudation of the soil of its vegetation, and the burning of manure as fuel ; their primitive pastoral methods, which are absolutely unavailing as a means of even feeding the enormous populations which these lands are forced to bear; and lastly with the lack of interest shown in them or their better development, so aptly characterized by the fact that " their position may be roughly gauged by a glance at a railway map which will show what areas the railways *avoid* ! "

The average density of population in the Union is given as 14·64 per square mile in 1921. In the Transkei, however, which is better than most Native areas, the average density was 58·59; Glen Grey 46·13, Herschel 53·54, Kingwilliamstown 70·01, and in the Native areas of the Transvaal it was from 70 to 90. Natal was little better, and the Orange Free State was unbelievably worse.

The net product of Natives occupied in agriculture in the reserve in 1923 was estimated by the Economic and Wage Commissioners to be about £7,500,000. Assuming that the number of Natives between the ages of 15 and 50 occupied in agriculture was 1,500,000, it appears that the average income per occupied Native in these areas was about £5. This result is not as surprising as it seems when it is borne in mind that Professor Macmillan estimated the average size of an agricultural holding in the unsurveyed Native areas to be one morgen, and the consuming power per head of the population in the Reserves to be not more than £3 per annum; this amount including what was sent home in wages. (In the Herschel district it was calculated that, out of the total Native population of about 40,000, roughly 10,000 able-bodied adults left annually in search of work.) What this low productivity means to the Union will perhaps be more clearly realized when it is pointed out that the Native population in the reserves, and those who are merely being tied to wasteful farm service for part of the year outside of the reserves, amounting probably to not less than

3,000,000 people, are and have for years been just able to exist on what is avowedly an under-nourished standard of life, have saved nothing and built up nothing, but on the contrary have denuded the soil.

At present it is clear, therefore, that with the areas and production admittedly inadequate, the pressure of population in the reserves combined with that of the taxes which have been imposed, has had the effect of driving the able-bodied adults, male and even female, into the unskilled labour market. Even if this were not the case, the very low production per head that has so far alone been possible in these areas can hardly be regarded as a bulwark against anything more than starvation. Thus the main bulk of the Native population has no real defence against grave economic exploitation.

From an economic point of view this can have but one result (a result which there is little doubt has long come to pass in a large number of occupations), namely, that in general the efficiency of the exploited will not be higher than that of slave labour, and will be subject to all the economic evils which that term covers.

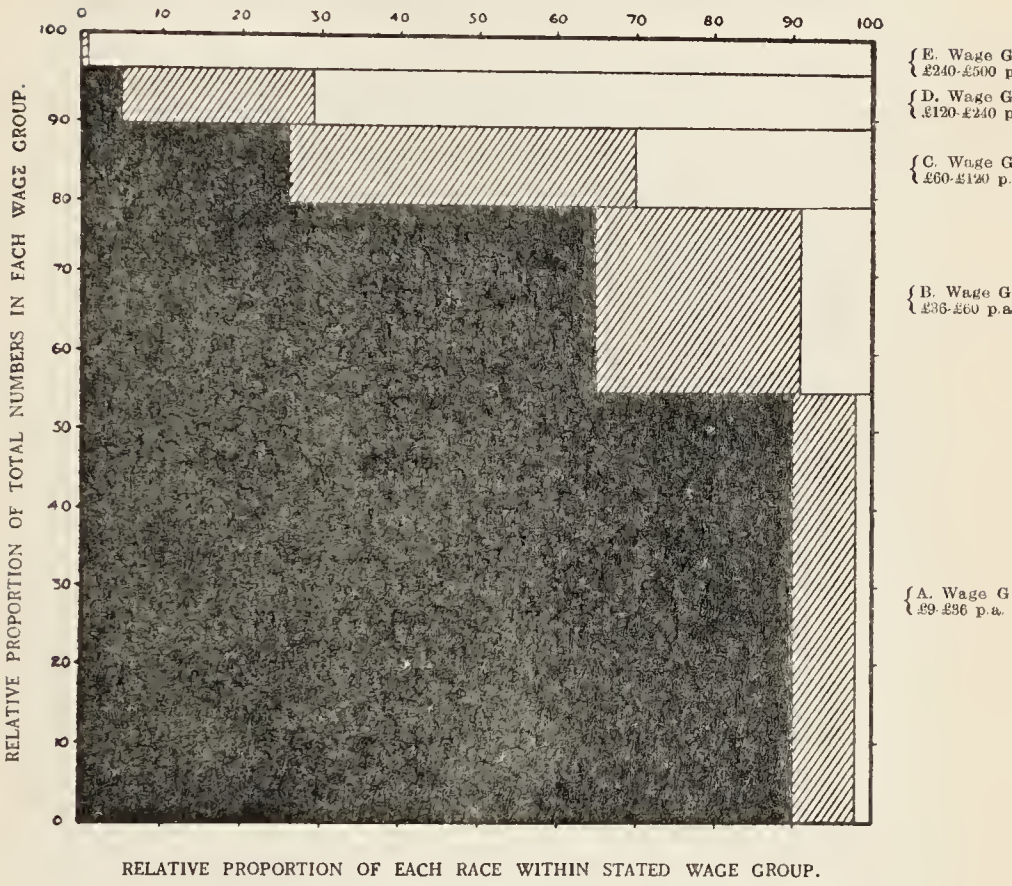
This survey of the great economic inequalities which the South African economy shows, may be concluded with a reference to a further general feature which in fact typifies the position we have described. It is indicated by the following quotation from the Economic and Wage Commission Report : " To sum up," write the Commissioners, " our comparison of money wages

in different countries showed the level of urban skilled rates to be high in South Africa—far higher than in any European country, higher than in Australia, about as high as in Canada, and exceeded only by the United States of America. . . . . Taken in connection with the capacity to pay of industry in the different countries, the rates of wages in South Africa are relatively far higher than in any other country. The explanation is obvious ; the rates of wages that we selected for purposes of comparison, for the reason that they were the only rates for which comparable figures could be found in other countries, were the rates of a small minority of workers, and were, therefore, less typical of South African wages than the corresponding rates of wages in other countries. They were the rates of white workers while the great majority of wage-earners in South African industry and agriculture are Natives, Coloured, or Asiatic. They were the rates of urban centres, where, as we saw, rates are higher than in the country generally. In other words the explanation of the remarkable fact that the rates of wages that we took are above the average income per occupied person, while in other countries the corresponding rates are usually about half the average income, is to be found in the characteristic of South African wages that we noted first—the wide spread, a spread several times as great as in any other country, between the highest and the lowest rates of wages. The rates of mechanics, building artisans, miners and printers are the rates of a small skilled class of urban white labour."

The Minority Report of the Commission contains a striking diagram illustrating the wide spread referred to. The diagram (which is reproduced on the opposite page) illustrates the distribution of wages in the Union, it shows the relative number of wage-earners falling within each of certain wage-groups, and also the relative number of persons of each race falling within each particular wage-group.

A careful examination of this diagram shows that approximately 55 per cent. of the wage-earners in the Union in 1925 received between £9 and £36 per annum, that is, a range of wage whose minimum is only just sufficient to buy say one complete change of clothing for a worker on a civilized standard of life, and whose maximum would not even buy the furniture for one of his living rooms. Further comment as to the reason for South Africa's low productivity, purchasing power and restricted home market is surely not needed. The diagram illustrates clearly how small compared to the mass of the workers of South Africa is that highly-paid, though not therefore always correspondingly highly-skilled, class of white workers (there are practically no non-Europeans) who compose the group earning between £240–£500 per annum. On the diagram it is shown to amount to under five per cent. of the total number of wage-earners. It will be clear how impossible it is for the majority of the white workers of the Union to reach anywhere near this standard as long as the national productivity and income remains as low as it is. This wage-earning class has put itself,

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE DISTRIBUTION OF WAGES IN THE UNION



The Square represents the Total Number of Wage Earners in the Union.

The Rectangles when measured *horizontally* indicate the relative number of persons of each race falling within the Wage Group as shown on the right-hand side.

The Rectangles when measured *vertically* indicate the relative number of persons of all races falling within the Wage Groups A, B, C, D and E.

The portions shaded *Thick Black* refer to Natives, those shaded *Light Black* to Coloured and Asiatics, and those *Unshaded* to Europeans.

frequently through almost monopolistic trade-union policy, into the position of skimming the cream off the share that goes to labour in South Africa. For the rest the European, and especially, as is only too well known, the Poor White from the country, is being forced to accept low-paid occupations, and in 1925 they formed over 2 per cent. of the £9–£36 group and over 8 per cent. of the £30–£60 group. The relative position of a portion of the European workers in these low wage-groups will have been improved since 1925 as a result of the activities of the Wage Board, and this is all to the good. But it would be quite wrong to conclude, as some may be tempted to do, that the solution can be found through such legislative action, unless there is that increase in all-round productivity which can alone make it effective.

It is now necessary to examine some of the effects of present and of past policy in greater detail.

First, as to agriculture.

The most striking feature about European agriculture in our country is the very low income per occupied person of all races, which, including pastoral production, is on the average less than £60 per annum.

It is therefore also not surprising to find that the average yield per morgen of the main South African crops is very small when compared with that of similar crops in other countries.

The following table, compiled from the United States Commerce Year Book and from South African official sources, illustrates the position :

Countries.	Years.	Average Yield per Morgen per Annum.			
		Maize Bags (200 lb.)	Wheat Bags (200 lb.)	Tobacco Lb.	Potatoes Bags (150 lb.)
Argentina ..	1921–27	15·9	7·6	—	73·8†
Australia ..	1921–27	15·6†	8·0	—	80·6†
Canada ..	1921–27	20·7	11·0	2,058	124·8
New Zealand	1921–26	29·5†	19·5	—	174·6
Roumania ..	1921–27	10·0	8·1	1,075	108·3‡
United States	1921–27	16·4	9·0	1,624	92·6
Union of South Africa	1923–28	5·6*	5·5¶	1,118	46·4

* Transvaal and Orange Free State. ¶ Cape. † Average for six years.
‡ Average for five years.

In spite of the probability that a part of the large discrepancy between the South African yields and those in other countries may be due to a lesser productivity of the soil (which we have attempted in the case of maize and wheat to allow for by quoting the South African yields only for the provinces where most of the crop is produced), and to climatic conditions, we must agree with the 1921 Census Report when it admits that the figures of yield are not in the main very encouraging and states that "it is not a question of the capacity of the country but the need for closer settlement, more capital, more intensive cultivation of the soil, and better markets at home and abroad. . . . but the question remains unanswered why a larger area is not more intensively

cultivated and why the average yield is not higher." An answer suggests itself when it is borne in mind that in 1921 only 6 per cent. of the European farmers in the Union were labourers, and "consisted mainly of men of the bywoner class" whose undesirable economic position we have already discussed, and that the majority of the rest " were owners or occupiers of farms or relatives working for or assisting the farmer" and depending for the main work of farming on the employment of some 368,000 inefficient Natives. Agriculture is the industry which shows the highest proportion of non-European workers, the percentage of non-Europeans occupied in it being no less according to the 1921 Census than 73·91, of whom the greater portion are Natives.

The agriculture of France, Germany, and the United States has been built up mainly through the self-interest of peasant proprietors and farm tenants, and to a lesser degree by the direct employment of wage-paid agricultural labourers. Even in the United States of America " 24 per cent. of the farm labourers are members of the farm family working on the home farm, and a very large percentage of the rest of them are sons of other farmers working for their neighbours. The farm proprietor and members of his family do four-fifths of the work on American farms." [1] It is, of course, generally recognized that the most productive type of modern farming for certain crops is that on the mechanized " factory

[1] *Agricultural Reform in the United States*, J. D. Black, 1929.

farm " with its large scale organization and efficient labourers. *Prima facie* it might therefore be argued that there is nothing wrong with the South African system, based as it is on the employment of large numbers of Native labourers. But the argument would be incorrect. The *sine qua non* of even the factory farm is an efficiency of the labour force which does not exist in this country. It may almost be regarded as an agricultural axiom that, where agriculture is not carried on on an advanced basis, and where there is no highly efficient labour force, the most, if not the only, productive type of organization has been found to be that which makes use of the self-interest of the workers, either as small independent peasants, or as agricultural tenants.

Yet, as we have seen above, in South Africa we are building on a different basis.[2] We ignore entirely a shrewd observation of the recent Business Men's Commission in the United States, which concluded that " the solution of the problem of agriculture does not lie in the direction of putting on the land those workers who will take the wage which a low yield affords, but rather in raising the yield to the level which high-wage men demand."

[2] Very frequently certain kinds of South African agriculture approximate to that which existed during slavery times in the Southern States of America, of which Maurice Evans has written as follows: " In very many cases . . . the Negro set the pace, and although taskwork was common the standard set was not arduous, and as is so common in Africa, especially when the Native has no incentive to effort, the strain of keeping him up to a high pitch of endeavour was too great a task for the master and was abandoned for an easy-going routine . . . New and improved methods were forbidden by the ignorance and inertia of the slaves; beyond a certain dull routine they could not be moved."

It is pertinent here to quote the remarks of an eminent American agricultural author and economist, in reference to the natural concomitant of our present policy—the alleged "shortage" of labour, of which we hear so much in our own country and which means so little.

> "The cry of scarcity of farm labour" (the Professor of Agricultural Economics in the University of Harvard[1] writes) "has apparently been heard in all ages. There never has been such a supply of it but that still more of it would have been used if it were cheap enough—and if the employer did not have to feed it and clothe it. The system of slavery had this to recommend it, that the employer of the labour had to sustain it, and if he was a good husbandman he fed it well enough to keep it in good working condition. Under conditions of free service, in many areas and on many occasions, the wages paid have not been adequate to feed and clothe the labourer and his family. . . . . The author sent out an inquiry to 5,000 employers of farm labour in the summer of 1916, asking a number of questions concerning farm labour. Most of the replies stressed the scarcity of labour, the high wages, the independent spirit of the labourer, and their lack of interest in their work. The Wisconsin State Council of Defence sent out a post-card to every farmer in Wisconsin in the spring of 1917, asking . . . . if

[1] J. D. Black, *Agricultural Reform in the United States.* (Italics in this quotation are our own.)

more farm labour was needed. There were thousands of replies in the affirmative. A little later a letter was directed to the farmers in several counties who had asked for help, stating that the Council of Defence was now ready to undertake to supply them with labour if they still needed it, at a specified rate per month, this rate being that which was then prevailing in the principal labour markets of the State. Few replies were received, and those that came stated that they could not afford to pay such high rates. If an enquiry were to be sent out this spring the same sort of answers would be received. *The scarcity of labour is always relative to the wage rate. There is never enough at the wages a large group of farmers would like to pay.* If wages rise high enough, there will usually be enough of it in the area in a year or two. If the rate which will attract this amount of labour is higher than the farmers in the area can generally afford to pay, this is evidence of the fact that they want more labour than the prevailing level of prices for farm products justifies. The evidence is unmistakable that wages of farm labour keep pretty well in line with farm incomes."

This somewhat lengthy quotation is justified because it is directly applicable to our own conditions, and illustrates our own problems exceedingly well. In South Africa, owing to the customary depressed level of Native wages, it is quite natural that farmers are practically always in want of labour.

The reader will have no difficulty in picturing to himself why there is a shortage if he will think of the demand there would be for Native labour if nothing at all had to be paid for it, and if the employer continued to be relieved, as he now is, of the responsibility (which he would at least have to bear if Native labour were officially classified as slave labour) of keeping it " in good working condition," preventing its being attacked by disease and meeting a premature death through exploitation. The above quotation again brings out the uneconomic nature of the restrictions on the movement of Natives, of our obsolete Masters and Servants Act which makes breach of contract a criminal offence, and of the new legislation which ties the Native to his master as a " labour " tenant.

It would seem that the best way out of the labour-tenancy or squatting system, which is merely indicative of primitive farm conditions and lack of farm capital, would be to make out of the main bulk of your squatters not low-paid, inefficient labourers, but trained, and at any rate more eager, farm tenants, providing by their rents the liquid capital which the farmer needs to secure more efficient labour at the higher wage which such labour would call for.

It is this change which will give the landless White his chance and his challenge. For he will, provided he too is given security of tenure, now have to show his superiority, not over cheap unskilled labour but over a Native tenant working on a similar basis to himself. It is in any case important for both the

landless European and the landless Native that payment for labour services in kind should cease and that a definite form of contract on a cash basis be substituted therefor.

So much for the position in agriculture. It remains to examine certain further factors relating to industry in general.

We have already noted that industry in South Africa is characterized by the wide spread between the wages paid to a large proportion of wage earners in the low wage-groups and the wages paid to relatively very small numbers of skilled highly-paid employees.

It is an unhealthy form of economic organization. First, as industry is organized on a basis of cheap and plentiful unskilled labour, it has so far, as a general rule, not seen the need for economy in the size of the labour force, and in the substitution of machinery where this would in other countries be more economical. Second, as the wages of the skilled, that is, the European labour force, are fixed by custom and collective bargaining at a high level, it has resulted in the employment of the minimum number of skilled employees, counterbalanced by the maximum number of low-paid Natives. The result is obvious—industry finds it impossible, in general, to employ those Europeans whose productive capacity is not worth the high customary standard of the skilled employees ; and these unskilled Europeans on the other hand cannot exist on the customary wages of the Native employees. They are therefore unable to obtain industrial employ-

ment, except in industries working, or forced to work, under artificial conditions—for example, the Railways and Harbours, or by industries obtaining relief through the Tariff.

The general productivity of industry is low, based as it is on labour which in industry has even less chance of advancement than in agriculture. Moreover, its market is limited by the very organization on which it is based, for the consuming power of the mass of the workers in it is, like their productivity, at a minimum. The number of European employees is frequently dependent to a lesser degree upon the amount of work there is to be done, than upon the number of low-paid Natives that can be obtained to do it, and for whom a certain amount of so-called skilled European supervision is needed.

The proportion per cent. of European employees to total employees in all private industrial establishments in the Union was in 1927–8 only 36·85. Of the total amount of wages and salaries paid, however, European employees took in these private industrial establishments 69·64 per cent., or an average of £209, and non-Europeans 18·83 per cent., or an average of £53 per annum.

The extent to which it is only under artificial conditions that a large proportion of Europeans at present obtain industrial employment, is indicated by the fact that in Government and Local Government undertakings, and railway workshops, the percentage of Europeans to all employees is much greater, it being

63·55 per cent., and these Europeans take 89·58 per cent. of the total wages paid. It is also significant that the average wage of Europeans is higher in these undertakings than in private industries by £51, and amounts to £260 per annum.

An indication of the low productivity of South African manufacturing industry is afforded by the following statistics,[1] giving an international comparison.

Countries.	Year.	Gross Value of Production per Head of Employees in Manufacturing Industry	Value Added in Process of Manufacture per head of Employees	Gross Value of Production per Head of Mean European Population.	Value Added in Process of Manufacture per Head of Mean European Population.
		£	£	£	£
Canada ..	1926	1,143	525	71	33
New Zealand	1926–27	1,014	400	61	24
Australia ..	1927–28	898	361	67	27
South Africa	1927–28	515	248	62	30

The lowness in South Africa of the value of production and value added per head of employees needs no comment.

The statistics in the last two columns, however, need explanation. It is in any case significant that notwithstanding the aid of the huge non-European labour force employed in South Africa the gross value of production per head of the mean European population is only just about the same, and the value

[1] Extracted from the Union's Thirteenth Industrial Census. 1929.

added only slightly more than in New Zealand. Even so, however, these statistics camouflage the real position. The custom, apparently inaugurated by the Census and Statistics Office, of expressing statistics such as these in relation to the European population only has already been referred to as one to be strongly deprecated. All that these particular figures go to show is what little use we make of our huge Native population, either as consumers or producers. For, if the figures for South Africa in the last two columns above are expressed in relation to the total population in European areas (that is, even excluding the Native Reserves), they are found to be less than £10 for the value added, and less than £20 for the gross value of production.

The facts, as so far elicited, indicate clearly that our policy has in effect so weakened the economic foundations of European civilization in South Africa as to retard future progress. The dragging weight of inefficient labour is preventing the opening of resources, hindering immigration, lowering productive capacity, and leading to wide-spread European unemployment; in short, making this country a third-rate economic power among the other countries of the world.

Above all, therefore, we conclude that the policy of "cheap" labour must be abandoned, and that an intensive attempt must be made to educate the workers, the employers and the consumers of this country to its evil, nay, disastrous effects. It can be admitted that the extent to which the Natives can in general be

trained and raised to become efficient and independent workers in industry or agriculture is not known—nor could it be known, for the policy has not been tried. Nevertheless it must be clear to all thinking men and women in South Africa that our present method of rewarding equally the efficient and inefficient Native worker, the trained and the untrained, the interested and uninterested, is absurd in the extreme and lays upon these people a burden of inertia, hopelessness, resentment and injustice, which reacts most detrimentally, if not dangerously, upon the welfare of every inhabitant of our country.

It is our opinion that the restrictions which prevent Natives from acquiring and leasing land in European areas should be removed, and that everything should be done to devise a secure and equitable system of land tenure for Europeans and non-Europeans alike; that the agricultural community be encouraged to adopt this system and in this way ease the pressure of both the landless White and landless Native on the labour market. We are of the opinion further that in order to undermine the continuance of the tendency towards excessive land speculation, accompanied by the consolidation of large areas of land under single control, and in order to give landless Europeans the opportunity of buying land and of finding work as tenants, there be introduced a progressive tax on unimproved land values. As a corollary to this policy of secure tenancy for both Europeans and non-Europeans there must be a more rational

attitude to the principles on which farm labourers, be they Natives or Europeans, are employed. We think it highly important that any form of mere labour tenancy, tying up labour as it does, should cease ; it is very necessary that a fluid, competitive, labour market be established. For this reason regulations which tend to hinder the free movement of Natives should be abolished. In their place we recommend that there be put into force the recommendation contained in the Minority Report of the Economic and Wage Commission, that " Government Bureaux be established for the purpose of giving information to any Native wishing to go out to work about requirements of different employers, and the terms and conditions offered by them. Such government bureaux should record the names of employers to whom Natives go out to work, and should communicate full information as to the terms of the contract to the Magistrate and the police of the district in which the employer resides, and they could see that the terms of the contract were faithfully observed. This would be a guarantee to the Native of fair treatment. No pressure should be exerted by such a bureaux to influence the Native in his choice of employer, but, with full information as to the positions open and the rates of pay and conditions, the Native would have a right freely to choose his employer." Combined with a policy of turning such Departments as those dealing with " Native Affairs " into some productive work of this nature, it would be part and

parcel of the policy we suggest for the Government to do everything possible in the way of establishing agricultural and industrial training institutions for Native workers, in the same way as such training institutions are available for Europeans.

As already indicated at the beginning of this chapter, we do not contemplate going back on the very modified form of segregation constituted by the existence of our Native areas. In existing conditions to throw these open to free competition would mean even less opportunity of land ownership or tenancy for Natives. By working through stages such as the Glen Grey tenure towards full individual title, by improving Native agriculture vigorously and effectively on the very sound lines now followed by the Agricultural Section of the Native Affairs Department — the establishment of which has been a progressive step of unmixed benefit to the Natives—by providing better communications, and better connections between the Native producer and the market, by using the school as an extension centre for the enrichment of Native life generally, and by draining the reserves of surplus Native population so that production in them shall be carried on by the optimum number suited to the area, we can create centres of progressive Native activity, which will be none the worse for being purely Native. The policy of allowing Natives to lease land should be regarded as the precursor of one fitting them for ownership of land in areas outside of scheduled Native areas.

The policy which we suggest for industry is one that runs parallel to that here outlined for agriculture. Once again it aims at the establishment of a system of equitable rewards, of increased productivity and of the abolition of economic exploitation. For this reason we suggest that restrictions which prevent Natives from doing skilled work should be removed, and that Natives should be allowed to compete freely for any class of work in which they can obtain employment, and to bargain individually or collectively for the market rate of wages in such occupations, that they be given the benefits of wage and industrial legislation in the same way as other workers and that they be brought into the Trade Union organization. We hope further that gradually the wastefulness of systems of work which entail a continual turnover of Native workers and of their coming and going from and to their homes distant from their place of work will be realised.

Feeling as we do that the only permanent solution for the tragedy of the position in which the Poor White population finds itself lies in increasing the productivity of all workers in our society, and the granting at the same time of security of tenure to the landless Europeans which will stop the creation of the Poor White section at the source, and will give to this part of the country's population renewed ties to, and hope on, the land of their fathers, we nevertheless realize clearly that this solution will take time to yield its fruits. During the transition period in which the Union's economy will find itself it will be necessary

to regard it as an established fact that the Union will have to do everything in its power to ameliorate the unfortunate position of the existing Poor White population to the largest degree compatible with the economic resources of the country.

We regard the attempts to do this which have been made in recent years as in principle deserving of public support. We disagree, however, with the manner in which the principle of assisting this section of the community has been applied. We have already indicated how hopeless is the policy of substituting subsidized white workers in such unproductive occupations that Natives can hardly exist on the wages they yield even at an uncivilized standard of life. There is, however, another important consideration. The present policy seeks to find room at all costs for these workers in Government enterprises of a commercial character, such as the Railways, the Harbours, the Post Office and the Public Works Department. In so far as the work being done by the Europeans so employed is worth the wage they receive, and in so far as the work itself is necessary, this is of course all to the good. Unfortunately, however, these cases are the exception. In general it appears that the work has included an element of subsidy for relief purposes, or has, as in the case of the Railways, led (*a*) to enormous overstaffing and (*b*) to a neglect of the essential economic principle of eliminating unnecessary work, or work which could better be done by mechanical means. As a result

these enterprises are unable to be conducted as efficiently as they should be, and not only do they thus seriously hamper the attainment of efficiency in those enterprises directly or indirectly dependent upon them, but the added charges which have to be paid for the services of these public undertakings fall only on the users of them, so that only the latter are paying the direct burden of providing relief for what is a national unemployment problem. Lastly, there can be no doubt whatever that the employment of inefficient workers in an undertaking side by side with efficient ones demoralizes the labour force as a whole. This insidious demoralization which saps the initiative and self-reliance of the working population not only in Government service, but by example in other enterprises, is one which is so extremely harmful to the welfare of the community as a whole that it must be avoided at all costs.

During the transition period we think the Poor Whites should be divided into two classes. The less advanced and less fit would form the first class of labour which would be employed as far as possible only on unskilled work such as road construction and excavation work. The cost of such works to be wholly or partly paid for out of a special Relief Fund, established for the purpose. In so far as the Railways desire to and can economically use such labour without interference with the efficient conduct of their services on up-to-date principles, they can do so, provided that the work is regarded as relief work and paid

for partly or wholly out of the Relief Fund. Similarly the cost of this kind of labour should be debited partly or wholly to the Relief Fund wherever it is used in a public service.

The second class would consist of those who have been selected out of the first class and are willing to be placed on land and irrigation settlements, to work under expert management, but otherwise on a system of individual tenure, with the opportunity to make good and purchase land at a later period and strike out entirely for themselves, or to relinquish their connection with the settlement and work as tenant farmers for private agriculturists. It should be part of the policy to promote those who show special fitness from the first class to the second, or to other occupations in which they will be able to stand on their own feet. The policy should be accompanied by special efforts to educate and train industrially and agriculturally and to apprentice and find employment for the children of this population. It should be made clear that the labour in the first class is to be known as relief work, and that those who remain in this class are definitely regarded as less fit than others who are promoted to the second class or who find work for themselves, while those who fail to satisfy the managers on the Government land or irrigation settlements are to be returned to the relief gangs. Moreover, the attempts now being made to persuade private industrial establishments to give the Poor Whites work where this is economic should be continued. We feel most

strongly that an ever-increasing number will find employment, particularly after the lapse of sufficient time for that increase of the country's productivity, with its concomitant increase in opportunities for employment, which will be brought about by the other suggestions we have here outlined.

The policies which are put forward in this chapter are admittedly a bold alternative to the time-worn and disastrous methods of the past. The choice for South Africa is not between White prosperity and Black poverty, or Black prosperity and White poverty, but simply between poverty and prosperity in which White and Black must, willy nilly, share and share alike.

The policy recommended will give both the poverty-stricken Natives and the poverty-stricken Whites a new hope. It will guide the urgent desire of the Native peoples for education and advancement into new channels, of as great value to the country as to themselves. It will break the dull jog-trot pace of labour which hinders progress in South Africa to-day, and the bracing effect of large sections in the community making new efforts will spread throughout the land. The productive power of millions of Native workers, now no longer curbed and wasted, will give a new incentive to the opening up of South Africa's resources, and their largely increased power of consumption will provide new markets for South African industrial enterprise. The policy which we here put forward is a constructive policy of which no South African need be ashamed.

Chapter II.

A NATIONAL ECONOMIC POLICY.

By S. Herbert Frankel.

In that exquisite and stimulating little essay entitled *The End of Laissez-Faire*, Mr. John Maynard Keynes begins a critical chapter by saying "Let us clear the metaphysical or general principles upon which, from time to time, laissez-faire has been founded. It is not true that individuals possess a prescriptive 'natural liberty' in their economic activities. There is *no* 'compact' conferring perpetual rights on those who Have or on those who Acquire. The world is *not* so governed from above that private and social interests always coincide. It is not so managed here below that in practice they coincide. It is *not* a correct deduction from the Principles of Economics that enlightened self-interest always operates in the public interest. Nor is it true that self-interest generally is enlightened; more often individuals acting separately to promote their own ends are too ignorant or too weak to attain even these. Experience does *not* show that individuals, when they make up a social unit, are always less clear-sighted than when they act separately. We cannot therefore settle on abstract grounds, but must handle on its merits in detail what Burke termed one of the finest problems in legislation, namely, to determine what the State ought to take upon itself to direct by the public wisdom, and what it ought to leave,

with as little interference as possible, to individual exertion. We have to discriminate between what Bentham, in his forgotten but useful nomenclature, used to term *Agenda* and *Non-Agenda*, and to do this without Bentham's prior presumption that interference is at the same time 'generally needless,' and 'generally pernicious.' Perhaps the chief task of economists at this hour is to distinguish afresh the Agenda of Government within a democracy from the Non-Agenda and the companion task of politics is to devise forms which shall be capable of accomplishing the Agenda."

In drawing up our Agenda of Government it is useful to remember that one of the strongest forces contributing to that wave of belief in the efficiency of laissez-faire was the inefficiency and ineptitude of public administrators, and the primitive corrupt organization of the public service in general. Let us therefore weigh the merit of placing particular items on the Agenda of Government in accordance with the extent to which at any moment of time our Government and Public Service have the experience, the men, and the independence to give to those items the efficient attention and practical administration which will alone make them worthy of their undertaking them. Let us remember, too, that for this reason what can with safety be recommended to the care of Government in one country may not be so entrusted in another as yet younger in experience, hampered in its choice of servants, or backward in its strength of organization.

In formulating our National Economic Policy, which will perforce deal mainly with the things we desire to influence through political decision and action, we must be careful not to fall into that common error against which Mr. Keynes has warned us. That error consists in trying to remedy the evils of nineteenth-century individualism not by ridding ourselves of its philosophic assumptions and hewing out a new path of constructive thought, but merely by negativing the conclusions at which that individualist philosophy arrived. In this way we would be flying from one extreme to the other: the one with the maximum, the other with the minimum, emphasis on individual freedom, forgetting the while that the minimum, or State Socialism, is in some respects a clearer, in some respects merely a more muddled reaction to essentially the same philosophy. "The important thing for Government," therefore, "is not to do the things which individuals are doing already, and to do them a little better or a little worse; but to do those things which at present are not done at all."

Our governments must go forward guided by new thought, and enlisting the services of all able and willing to formulate and discover it, rather than by following some one or other of the now outworn battle-cries of the past. They must decide at every new turn afresh (1) what to leave un-interfered-with, whether because interference would serve no important purpose, or because the time for it is not yet ripe, (2) what things to do and services to undertake or control

because they alone will and can undertake or control them, (3) what to do to ensure that their actions will be constantly efficient and related to reality.

"*Man sagt oft : Zahlen regieren die Welt. Dies aber ist gewiss. Zahlen zeigen wie sie regiert wird,*" wrote Goethe.

Therefore the first requisite and the first principle of national policy must be the determination to get the information, and the data, on which alone constructive thought can be based. It is impossible to formulate a wise policy in industrial and economic affairs without first knowing the facts of the case.

In South Africa we are unfortunately still far from realizing this basic truth. Our government departments are still prone to collect and present information in an unimaginative routine manner, or as a mere by-product of some other activity. They frequently avoid publishing much which is of considerable public importance, or proceed to publish half-truths assiduously for some ulterior political purpose.

In view of their present lack of interest in exact knowledge of even the results of their own activities, it is hardly surprising that most of these same departments make little use of the researches and experience of the other Dominions or of other countries, and that their libraries, research facilities and methods of procuring up-to-date technical information are primitive in the extreme. Therefore it is also not surprising that still less interest is taken by private enterprise in that most beneficial movement that has developed

abroad for the publication of a large amount of detailed economic information which the false individualist philosophy of a now bygone age thought only the petty concern of " private business," but which it is to-day realized is essential for the prevention of waste, over-expansion, unforeseen changes and industrial maladjustment.

The Report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry summed up the importance of such statistics as follows :

> " At all times, accurate and quantitative information about the facts of production and consumption is necessary to economic efficiency, and the avoidance of loss and waste. But three conditions, particularly characteristic of to-day, make it more needful than ever : (*a*) the tendency to overproduction in particular directions, and the difficulty, when markets and sources of supply are international and the time-interval between the beginning of the productive process and the date of actual consumption is considerable, of accurately adjusting demand and supply ; (*b*) the ignorance of the investor, who supplies a large part of the capital, about the actual profitableness and future prospects of different branches of business, and the consequent risk that new savings may be directed into wrong channels ; and (*c*) the difficulty of proving or disproving the suspicions of Trade Unionists that capital is earning an excessive rate of profit, sometimes leading to trade disputes which may be founded on a misapprehension of the facts."

It is not necessary to do more than to refer to the chaos of unfounded opinion as to the causes or even the extent of the present recession in economic activity in the Union, to show how we grope in the dark owing to the lack of up-to-date statistical and economic information. It is, however, perhaps not so generally realized that in knowledge as to the profits of capital investment in commerce, finance and banking, and as to methods for the control of monopolistic and semi-monopolistic enterprises or combinations, the public in this country is much behind the times. There is much uncertainty and ignorance as to the actual state of economic affairs and conditions in the Union. Uncertainty and ignorance make business a lottery; it is through them that great inequalities of wealth come about; they impair efficiency and production; and they are a potent cause of unemployment of labour. Most undesirable of all, there are always some individuals fortunate in situation and abilities who are able to take advantage of uncertainty and ignorance to the detriment of the rest of the community. It is for these reasons that we believe, with the authors of the Liberal Industrial Report, that secrecy in both private and public business is one of the greatest factors of inefficiency, and that the government should take the most drastic and uncompromising measures against it.

Prosperity is indicated in a modern community by no one set of indicia alone, and there is no single measure of it. It will be convenient to accept as

major measures or tests of prosperity, the following, of those mentioned by Mr. Benham in his *Prosperity of Australia*: (1) The National Income, expressed in terms of *real* income, that is, correcting for changes in the value of money, (2) Working conditions, (3) The Distribution of the National Income.

The first of these tests needs no further explanation here. Unfortunately, too, any detailed examination of the sources and changes in the National Income in South Africa is made impossible by the fact that the statistics are not available since 1923. The estimate of the National Income for that year, which in itself was comparatively crude owing to lack of information, is the most recent available. Since then even the method of calculation used in 1923 has been made impossible by the fact that the Census Department has since that year discontinued the valuation of agricultural production, in itself a most necessary figure for the measurement of many other economic factors. How low the National Income is in South Africa has, however, already been indicated in Chapter I. of this section. The second test mentioned above is of importance as bringing out clearly that the prosperity of a country depends not only on the actual real income of its inhabitants, but on the manner in which that income is earned: whether it is obtained under healthy, comfortable, clean and ordered conditions of work, with a considerable part of the working day free for leisure, or whether under primitive conditions,

in unhealthy surroundings and cramped by accident and disease. In many respects the importance of working conditions has only begun to be realized in our country, even although remarkably good work is being done, in so far as its limited staff allows, by the factory inspection service. We have already noted in Chapter I. the deplorable conditions under which a large section of the population of our country live and work. It is not necessary to do more than mention its low standard of consumption, of clothing, of housing, the large amount of malnutrition, and the extent of disease and infantile mortality, to realize the leeway that has to be made up in South Africa. As regards distribution, it is, of course, well known how harmfully extreme inequalities of wealth or opportunity affect production and prosperity. With this point also we have dealt at length in Chapter I., and we have there shown in considerable detail the evil effects of the very extreme economic inequalities in the Union.

Indeed, the Economic and Wage Commissioners in their Majority Report spoke more truly than they perhaps themselves realized when they said: "It would appear that South Africa at present is not among the richest countries of the world."

Any national policy must take this fact into account. It must realize that South Africa has not at present such liquid and realized resources as perhaps warrant other countries in conducting doubtful and costly experiments in government control or interference.

We can, even less than other countries, afford economic wastes which can be prevented by thought and study. Above all, our economic policy needs urgently to adopt measures which will (1) increase the National Income, (2) improve working conditions, (3) reduce economic inequality. It appears to us that what is most necessary in order to achieve these purposes is an increase of economic efficiency, by which we mean (i) better planning, (ii) better executive management and organization in private and public industry, (iii) an increase of the productivity of all occupied persons in the community.

The formulation of the aims of a national economic policy already in itself indicates one of the main factors necessary for its realization, and one which is entirely lacking in our country—namely, the administrative machinery by which it will be designed and carried into effect. In many other countries the same problem has had to be faced in recent years. Parliaments and cabinets have, whether they wished it or not, been forced to concern themselves to an ever growing extent with economic matters, and with interference in, or assistance to, industry. They have been forced to create numerous government departments to administer legislation dealing with these technical questions, but in passing that legislation they have been hampered by having no body of skilled advice on which to depend, and very often, as in South Africa, not even sufficient members experienced in these intricate economic affairs whose advice could

be regarded as valuable. The result is, as the Report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry found, that " troubles ahead are not anticipated, and, when they arrive, solutions to meet them are hurriedly improvised. Or, if competent Commissions are appointed to study them, their reports come too late. Ministers and Departments of State are necessarily concerned in the main with daily events and with the task of carrying on. The big problems of economic policy are only theirs when they are becoming ripe to be the subject of actual administration or legislation. It is, therefore, a vital need for a modern state to create a thinking department within the administration, at the elbow of the inner ring of the Cabinet, which shall warn Ministers of what is ahead and advise them on all the broad questions of economic policy. It becomes more and more clear to the student of affairs, and indeed to the public, that many of the mistakes and blunders made by the governments are due, not to ill-will or prejudice, but to sheer unpreparedness and ignorance." For similar reasons it is essential that we devise " a thinking department " on lines suitable to South African conditions, such as the Economic General Staff suggested for Great Britain. It might be known as the " Council of Economic Affairs." But, whatever it is called, it must be, as the authors of *Britain's Industrial Future* pointed out, " clothed with great prestige and placed at the centre of the Administration." If it becomes a mere advisory department it will be frozen out like all the advisory departments our country

has had. It will be made to investigate problems to which the administrative officers with actual power merely wish to give lip-service. We suggest that the Council should consist of three full-time members with wide economic training and experience, and that it should be assisted by the assessor-members mentioned below. The head of the Council of Economic Affairs must be given a position of such power and importance that he can "take up the handling of any question he chooses with the assurance that the Prime Minister and the Cabinet will, whether or not they do what he asks, at least listen seriously to what he says." His position might be compared to that of the Auditor-General if that official were to have the active powers of initiating proposals instead of being bound to a comparatively passive role. We suggest that the President and the two other full-time members hold power for seven years, subject to the renewal of their appointment for a similar period of service; and that the remainder of the Council consist of purely advisory assessor members who shall include the permanent Secretary of the Treasury, the permanent heads of the Ministries of Agriculture, Mines, Labour and Industry,[1] Native Affairs, and Transport[2], the Chairman of the Wage Board, and a representative of the Council of Industry (which is referred to later in this chapter). The permanent heads of the Council should be assisted by a small but very expert staff

[1] cf. page 196. [2] cf. page 294.

for economic and statistical research. The functions of the Council of Economic Affairs should be :

(1) To examine, and, where it deems necessary, to report publicly upon all proposed legislation dealing with any economic question whatsoever, and particularly matters of policy affecting industry, agriculture, mining, transportation, communication, finance or tariffs.

(2) To engage in continuous study of current economic problems.

(3) To act on its own initiative in directing the attention of the Cabinet to important economic tendencies and changes at home and abroad.

(4) To suggest to the Government plans for solving fundamental economic difficulties, for increasing private and public efficiency, and for developing the economic resources of the country.

(5) To suggest means of inter-departmental co-operation, to improve the collection and publication of information, and to pool experiences on technical matters with other bodies within the Empire and in foreign countries.

It is not intended by this wide Agenda that the Council of Economic Affairs is to take over routine duties now being carried on by other Departments. On the contrary it is our aim that it shall free itself

as much as possible from the merely routine work which is the everyday task of government. One of its primary functions will be to co-ordinate that work. It must have power to co-opt all those particularly fitted for certain purposes when, and for such time as, their help is needed. It is to take the initiative in suggesting to the Government the appointment of those Permanent Boards and Commissions of outside scientists or experts to the value of which we have referred in our chapter on the Public Service. Moreover, it should have the power itself to set up, with the assent of the Government, special committees of inquiry, or to cause existing Departments to undertake special investigations. It is to co-operate with the Universities, Agricultural Colleges, and other research institutions, obtaining their help on matters of national importance. Lastly, it should issue special reports whenever it deems the public interest will be served thereby, and particularly when in matters of importance its advice to the government of the day is for any reason not being followed. It should set an example in lifting the ban of secrecy in private and public affairs to the evil effects of which we have already referred. It is hardly necessary to add that the important positions the permanent staff of the Council will hold should carry with them remuneration on the highest scales of pay in the Public Service.

We feel that hand in hand with the formation of this important body certain other changes should be

made in the administrative machinery for dealing with economic questions. The Ministry of Labour should be enlarged into a Ministry of Labour and Industry. As the harmonious development of the productive powers of the Union depends on the realization that these powers will be developed by the co-operation of the representatives of capital and labour, and not by strife and misunderstanding between them, matters dealing with each of them should be in the hands of the same department. At the same time the work of the present Ministry of Labour should be very much expanded. In addition to its present duties it should conduct for industry the same kind of services as the Agricultural Department conducts for agriculture. It should be able to provide up-to-date information as to manufacturing production, processes, methods of management, costs, sources of raw materials, markets, etc. It should particularly concern itself not only with the important work of factory inspection from the point of view of ensuring adequate working conditions, the necessity of which we have already stressed in our opening remarks, but it should be able to advise on ways and means of increasing efficiency, keeping adequate records, obtaining essential information, etc. The experience it will accumulate should be invaluable not only to those entering upon a particular kind of production, but also for the purpose of determining and controlling Tariff policy. A reconstituted Ministry of this kind should gain the confidence of employers in the same way as it has gained the

confidence of employees. At the same time we feel strongly that the Department, and the Minister, of Labour and Industry, should exercise their powers of interfering with the decisions of the Wage Board, and with agreements arrived at under the Conciliation Acts, in accordance with the publicly-expressed advice of the Council of Industry to be referred to later, and in accordance with a well-known and uniform policy. There must be no backstairs interference with the decisions of a judicial body. It is most important for employers and employees to realize that to avoid disappointments in regard to Wage Board determinations they should co-operate to make use of the machinery for industrial conciliation. By developing methods of self-government in industry they will be exposed in a correspondingly lesser degree to the decisions of a body which in the nature of things must always occupy an outside position relative to those in the industry itself.

The Ministry of Labour and Industry should be assisted in its work by a statutory and permanent Council of Industry[1] which should consist of part-time representatives elected by representative com-

[1] This Council of Industry will make the further existence of the present Labour Advisory Council unnecessary. Its functions and position should, however, by no means be confused with those of the Labour Advisory Council.

The Council of Industry we suggest should be a far more active, independent, expert, representative and important body. It should not be dependent on being summoned by the Minister for advice at indefinite periods. It should, as we have stressed above, meet frequently and regularly in order to deal on its own initiative and continuously with problems as they arise. It should hammer out a consistent policy of its own and be in a position to assist the Minister by putting forward its views in an authoritative and independent manner. It should prepare regular reports, and not the least important aspect of its work should be the practical co-operation between capital and labour which it is hoped it will develop.

mercial and industrial organisations, and by organized labour. We suggest that it might consist of four members representing labour, four representing employers' interests and three independent members nominated by the government on account of their special qualifications or suitability. One of the employers should be retired each year, and one of the government nominees every two years. This body should meet at frequent intervals, a minimum number of meetings should be laid down by statute. It should be assisted by a small permanent secretarial staff. Its primary function should be to further the principle of self-government in industry, by giving it the opportunity of developing leadership within itself. It should give the Ministry of Labour and Industry the opportunity of intimate contact and consultation with the leaders of Labour and Industry. It should play a most important part in reviewing the industrial and labour policy of the Government, in controlling the regulations and determinations as to wages, hours and conditions of service made by Wage Boards and Industrial Councils, and in ensuring that uniformity of policy in regard thereto, the need for which is discussed in detail in our next chapter. It should advise the Minister of Labour and Industry as to, and bring to the attention of the Council of Economic Affairs and of Parliament, all matters which it deems important. We lay stress on the importance of a body of this nature for the particular reason that we feel strongly that industry in South Africa is still

governed to a most harmful extent by local jealousies, by demands which have their origin in the special treatment desired by particular geographical areas and their communities, by struggles in industrial policy between the coastal interests and those of the interior, or between the interests of one town or province and those of another. These prevent the adoption of measures which would make for the advancement of the country and nation as a whole. They are short-sighted, wasteful and restrictive in their effects. If we are to build a nation united in its efforts they must be publicly denounced as unworthy considerations in questions of national policy. For this reason the men chosen to serve on the Council should not be chosen as representing particular geographical areas, but for their knowledge, experience, and integrity, and their ability to serve South Africa as a whole.

It remains to state here that we are of the opinion, as indicated later in this chapter, that the present Board of Trade and Industries should be converted into a special Tariff Board, and that other functions should be withdrawn from this body.

It may be thought by some that the administrative machinery we have recommended is in excess of that needed by the Union at its present stage of development. We do not share this opinion. On the contrary, we think it time that it be realized that we need adequate machinery to direct the productive efforts not of one and a half million Europeans, but of a population of over seven millions; that there is a

vast hinterland whose markets wait to be explored, and that endeavours should be made in developing our resources to ensure that we are saved the mistakes made in other countries and at other times.

We will proceed now to discuss some of the constituents of the National Economic Policy we recommend.

Of the measures it is open for a government to use in achieving the aims which we have stated should form the basis of the policy (see page 191), that of the Customs Tariff as a means of bringing about the diversion of economic resources is not necessarily the only constituent of a protective policy. It, however, usually receives the most public attention when protection is discussed, just as the policy of protection itself is popularly regarded as the most important part of economic policy. It is therefore necessary to estimate the real influence of factors which loom so largely in the public eye.

It should first be noted that, apart from bounties and customs duties, a diversion of resources may be brought about in many other ways such as for example by special freight rates on locally produced commodities, or by discriminating rates on imported goods, by subsidized railway lines or road services, by free government services such as those given to farmers by the Agricultural Department, by subsidized irrigation schemes and land settlement schemes,

or by special terms of purchase such as the 10 per cent. preference given by government departments to South African tenderers.

It will therefore be obvious that in trying to formulate any protective policy, or in trying to measure and anticipate its effects, it is of the utmost importance that it be considered as part and parcel of the national economic policy as a whole. To do otherwise is to ignore a large number of other measures which may in fact be modifying the Customs Tariff policy or the official protective policy so seriously that its aims are vitiated. There can be no doubt that in our country no such comprehensive consideration has been given to the protective policy which Parliament has now officially adopted. There has been no clear realization of the relation of the new Tariff measures to the diverse forms of assistance already in existence for many years. For example the policy of preferential and protective rates has been in force on the railways since Union. No attempt has been made to limit the powers being exercised in this way by the railway authorities. On the contrary, it is even to-day still possible for the officials of the Railway Administration to exercise an arbitrary power in fixing railway rates in such a manner as either to decrease or to increase the amount of protection afforded an industry by Parliament. The same applies to what are virtually administrative additions to customs duties through the special preferences given to local industries by authorities undertaking public works. Again, it is possible

that the fiscal policy of the country, *e.g.*, in the taxing of particular industries (such as mining) for revenue purposes might seriously increase or decrease effects which it was hoped would be brought about by tariff measures in respect of other industries. The sound practical application of a protective policy is a far more important problem than agreement or disagreement as to its theoretical implications. And the soundness or otherwise of its practical application will depend very largely on the seriousness with which the effects of the national economic policy as a whole are studied, measured, and made public.

As is well known, the essence of all forms of protection is that the community interferes with the natural flow of economic resources and enterprise in order to divert it into other channels—ostensibly thereby to increase the prosperity of the community. There is nothing sacrosanct about the natural flow of resources, because what is regarded as natural at one particular moment is often in fact the result of historical conditions, and will change with them.

Under conditions of unhampered free trade there would be the same specialization of production in different countries, and exchange of the things so produced between them, as there is to-day specialization of occupations between individuals in the same town or village, specialization of different types of production between town and country, and specialisation of production between one part of a country and another. The gains from each individual doing

what he is through inherent or acquired characteristics and opportunities best fitted to do, and concentrating on that particular task, rather than doing or making all the things he requires, is obvious to all; it is really the failure to realize that the same simple principle forms the basis of international trade that brings about misunderstanding concerning the effect of different policies in regard to it.

In so far as any country places duties or other impediments on imports, it deprives itself of the benefits of this international specialization and cheapness, in order to obtain the benefits it sees in local production. In other words, it pays a price for the fact that it does not specialize only on the production of those things in which it is at the least disadvantage or at the greatest advantage compared to others.

The process might be compared to the growth of a large industry. The industry will first make those things for which it has the raw material and best opportunities ready at hand. It will buy (import) all those things necessary for making its product which it has not yet at hand or for the making of which its organization and skill are not yet sufficiently developed, or for which it has not yet sufficient demand to make the production profitable. As the industry grows, as its organisation develops, as its production expands, it itself makes more and more of all the things needed in the factory; it ceases to buy them outside; it may even make some of them so well that

it can sell (export) the surplus to others. So, too, is it with a country, a province, a town, or a village. The important fact to be noted is that all this growth is impossible without the possession of the natural resources, skill, initiative, experience, and the organization for expansion; and that it is necessary, except in exceptional circumstances, to concentrate first on those things which, at a given state of organization and development, can best be undertaken.

A country like South Africa or Australia naturally first produces raw materials, gradually more and more secondary industries which serve the needs of these primary activities develop, and eventually some of the secondary industries become so well established that they export a part of their products to other countries. As these develop, still other industries may arise to serve the more specialized needs of these large secondary industries, and so the process goes on. Thus there will always be some things which are being imported from abroad because they either simply cannot be made in the country at all, or because it does not yet, or may never, pay to make them.

Now, just as in the case of a particular industry it may be thought desirable to subsidize a particular department for the making of things which strictly speaking it would be as well still to buy outside, so in a country it may be desirable to protect, or subsidize, particular secondary industries, which cannot yet stand on their own feet. But just as in the case of the single industry the added cost will

have to be borne by the remaining departments, so in the country as a whole the costs of that protection will have to be borne by the other industries. Clearly there is a very definite limit to the extent to which any business or industry can burden itself with such experiments. In fact it is merely a figure of speech to say that the costs of these will be distributed over the other departments, for in actual practice they must all be paid out of the sales (export) department's earnings, and ultimately out of the net profits of the undertaking as a whole, and if they put up appreciably the price of the product being sold they may stop the sales of certain lines of goods altogether. The analogy with the protected industries of a country will be apparent. The costs of protection will fall eventually on the export industries and ultimately of course on the net national income. In so far as exports are restricted, the country will lose proportionately the advantages obtained by exporting (and of importing in exchange) and its national income will, by hypothesis, be less than before.

The analogy with a large single industry might be carried one step further to illustrate the difference between bounties and customs duties. The bounty would in the single industry correspond to the payment of a subsidy directly out of the earned surplus of the undertaking, its amount would be known, and it would not inconvenience the work of the other departments. Similarly in the country as a whole the bounty would come out of a special fund and would not, in

so far as it was raised by the taxation of net income, inconvenience (by raising their costs) the other industries of the country.

There is therefore nothing miraculous in this policy of protection, it is not a question of faith or belief, it is not a policy that has had the effect of a kind of lucky charm in some countries as, *e.g.*, the United States, or Germany, or Australia, and may have the same results in our own country. On the contrary it is a very humdrum, extremely complicated, and rather dangerous series of constant decisions as to the degree of action which continuously changing situations demand. It is eminently more difficult, owing to the enormous field of action, than the decisions in a large business whether or not it will pay to open a new department and run it at a loss for some time, and it carries with it all the same, but proportionately enlarged, dangers involved in this procedure, and particularly the danger that not only will the productivity and competitive power of the business suffer, but that the department being subsidized may be run inefficiently, that it may affect the efficiency of the other departments, that its real cost to the business may in fact never be known accurately, and that once it has been established it may be almost impossible to close it down or to dispense with those occupied in it.

Before proceeding to examine the effects of protection in greater detail, some of the main aims with which such a policy is usually adopted may be briefly mentioned. A large number have no direct influence on

the tests of prosperity we have indicated—as, for example, when protection is given to industries which produce commodities of importance in time of war, and which for reasons of national safety it is deemed important to have available within the country's own borders; or when it is adopted for reasons of national prestige owing to a belief that a modern state is in some way inferior unless it has the same kind of industries as other countries. Frequently the policy is demanded because it is thought that a "diversity of industry and employment is a social advantage, making for greater versatility and the development of various aptitudes in the population, and generally promoting a fuller and richer national life."[1] This latter reason is one that is liable to exert a particularly forceful appeal to sentiment in a young nation-state, and it is an aim for which it is probably desirable to make certain material sacrifices. The indirect satisfactions obtainable through diversity may contribute in a considerable degree to the welfare of the community.

Arguments more strictly directed to production and the increase of prosperity are those which claim to obtain from protection additional industries, and additional employment; which hope to protect wages and labour conditions; which desire to ensure greater stability of production by promoting industries not at the mercy of the seasons; or which aim at modifying

[1] See footnote on p. 209, referring to the excellent report from which this is taken.

dependence on foreign markets for certain staple products, especially those of agriculture.

None of these arguments, however, alter the fact that " under normal conditions protected industries depend upon the tariff . . . . because local producers cannot compete against world prices, even with the natural protection of freight and shipping charges. Given protection, goods are produced which cost more than they will realize in a free market. So long as the production is really dependent on the tariff these goods continue to cost more than free imports. The difference between the protected price and the price of free imports is due to higher local costs, and it is inevitable that these higher costs are borne by the consumers. The higher costs may be due to small-scale production, to higher costs of raw materials, to higher wages, to inefficiency of management or of labour, or to some combination of these, and other causes. The fact remains that higher costs are incurred, and that protection is necessary on their account. The greater the volume of goods produced under these conditions, the higher may be the costs to the consumers. Moreover, while the excess payments which are made on imported goods go into public funds and relieve other taxation, the excess payments on home-produced goods are absorbed in the increased costs of production. They are payments made in addition to the taxation required by the Government, and are in effect bounties paid by the consumers. The more effective the protection, the less the customs

revenue, but, unless the margins between import costs and home-produced costs are reduced, the greater will be the burden on consumers and on other production."[1]

Nor is this objection generally met by the well-known "infant industries" argument, which has always been accepted in theory by economists. In practice the trouble is that the "infants seem never to grow up." The danger that many will not outgrow the juvenile stage is nowadays enhanced by the tendencies of "rationalization" and concentration in large-scale production, which have increased the difficulties of initiating a new industry in a country, such as South Africa, with an as yet comparatively undeveloped home-market. As a result the degree of protection, the length of its continuance, and the cost to the community "are likely to be greater in the 20th century than in the 19th," when the infant-industries argument was at the height of its popularity. But the main danger of a protective policy is that once begun "tariff protection extends over other industries until any possible benefit is lost in the increased cost due to the protection of inefficient and naturally uneconomic industries, and that it is politi-

[1] We are indebted for these and other quotations, as well as for many of the observations as to the effects of a protective policy made in the following pages to the notable report on "The Australian Tariff" made by a Committee appointed by the Right Hon. S. M. Bruce, in 1927, and including as its members J. B. Brigden, M.A., Professor of Economics in the University of Tasmania, and now Economist and Deputy Chairman of the Australian Overseas Transport Association; D. B. Copeland, Professor of Commerce in the University of Melbourne, and Mr. E. C. Dyason; Mr. L. F. Giblin, and Mr. C. H. Wickens, Commonwealth Statistician. The report was published at Canberra in May, 1929.

cally impracticable to stop it until its costs have caused obvious and considerable damage. This danger is enhanced by the fact that the policy is apt in a democracy to find powerful allies and few opponents. The democracy unless it is protected by the existence of experts in a position to publish, absolutely independently, all the actual facts of the situation, can judge only by superficialities. It will be swayed by the propaganda of sectional interests, and much of the interest of the electors as a whole will be biassed by their association with such sections. Moreover, its evil effects are not easily discernible and often take long to develop. One of the most strongly biassed sections in a democracy, paradoxical as it may sound, will as a general rule be the Government (in particular the Treasury) itself, if it has once obtained the vague sanction of the electors for "a policy of protection." For where protection is given through customs duties it is a ready means of "painless extraction" of revenue. "The indirectness of the method acts as an anaesthetic," reads the Australian Tariff report; "in Australia it has had the further advantage of association with another anaesthetic, if we may so designate the gospel of protection. Increases in customs duties appear to have been welcomed."

The growth of customs revenue in this manner is to be deprecated both because it increases the proportion of indirect to direct taxation and because in so far as this revenue is easily obtained it leads to

extravagance in government expenditure. The evil effects of indirect taxation are well known, and not the least of them is that (quite apart from the protective policy) this form of taxation enables government policy and expenditure to escape their full measure of criticism. In any case, customs taxation, like indirect taxation, imposes a greater burden on industry than an equivalent amount of direct taxation. Some customs duties are levied for revenue purposes, some for protective purposes. It is often very difficult to say for which purpose a specific duty is intended. Frequently the government in power will purposely make the discovery of this important fact as difficult as possible. In any case, however, almost every protective customs duty is in some respect also a revenue duty. This arises mainly out of the fact that such a duty usually applies to a large number of grades of the commodity, only some of which are being made, or can be made, in the country. The remaining grades are imported and pay the duty. It is therefore desirable to make the classification of commodities subject to duty as detailed as possible. This presupposes very expert knowledge of particular industries and processes by those entrusted with the drawing up of the tariff, and it implies incessant watchfulness. A large amount of revenue which may not have been intended is nevertheless almost unavoidable under customs protection. It is for this reason that the method of protection through bounties, which are in any case from every point of view except

that of political expediency to be preferred to customs duties as a means of protection,[1] is particularly desirable in cases of this nature. For frequently the customs tariff is used as a steam-hammer to crack a nut.

In South Africa, both the tendency to use the policy of protection, and the rather clumsy application of customs duties, are becoming increasingly noticeable. It was to counteract this tendency that Sir Robert Kotze, M.P., put forward a scheme in the Union House of Assembly for combining the bounty method with the use of the customs tariff in applying the protective policy. The essence of the scheme, into the technical details of which it is not necessary

[1] The advantages of bounties over customs duties as a means of protection have been summarized by the Australian Tariff Enquiry Committee as follows:

"(i) The assistance given to a tariff-protected industry is, in fact, a bounty, but it is paid by consumers, and much of its costs fall ultimately on the export industries.

(ii) Bounties paid from tax revenues are paid by the general taxpayer, who can be taxed in proportion to his income and capacity, with much less hampering effect on production.

(iii) Bounties do not raise prices except through the general influence of taxation.

(iv) Bounties require payments only on the goods produced locally, while duties require payments on all the goods consumed, through the customs duties collected on the imports which continue.

(v) With bounties it is easy to discriminate between the grades of goods which can be produced at home and those which cannot, and to leave the latter free from taxation.

(vi) The cost of bounties is definitely known and felt; it is not obscured as with duties, and there is a natural and healthy resistance to and criticism of the assistance given.

(vii) There is less probability of wasteful assistance to industries of minor importance.

The reason which prevents the adoption of bounty systems of protection is obvious enough. Since bounties require payments, while duties create receipts, the interests of the Treasury are all against bounties. Bounties are also less popular with the protected interests, partly because their costs are more obvious, but also because they are less secure. And the more effective the protection becomes, and the larger the volume of production, the larger is the amount required for bounties. It may be equally so with duties, but the larger amount is not realized.

We may point out that basic commodities which enter into other production to a large extent are especially appropriate for bounties."

to enter here, was that the monies received form protective duties were not to be used for other purposes than the granting of bounties on the same or other commodities. It is of interest to note that the same principle was recently suggested by the Australian Committee on the Tariff. They recommended in addition to a careful investigation of the present tax effects of the Tariff, and the reduction or abolition of certain "unintended and oppressive commodity taxes entirely," that "all revenue derived from protection should be allocated to the protective purposes intended, and that it should be used for bounties and not for ordinary Government expenditure." They recommended further that a Trust Fund be established into which such monies be paid. This matter is of considerable importance in South Africa, where the lax methods of granting protection, and the vague purposes for which duties are imposed, are proving a serious burden to the country's economic activities.

In concluding this general survey of the effects of protection it is hardly necessary to do more than refer briefly to the most important of all its effects, namely the burden it throws on other industries. The latter indeed has been made clear to us in South Africa over and over again, and particularly in the theoretical analysis of the matter presented in the Economic and Wage Commission's Report. It is well known "that the excess costs of production imposed by the tariff tend to be concentrated on the export industries. Certain exports are carried on

under subsidy, but this is both uneconomic and impracticable to any great extent, and in general the export industries are handicapped. The result is that our restriction of imports is met by a corresponding restriction of exports. The export industries are prevented from expanding as they otherwise would, the course of production is diverted, *different* industries are created rather than additional industries, and the net result is an increase of protected production, with a check to unprotected production."

The latter result is both a cumulative and, in general, an undesirable one, because it leads to the extension of government assistance to industry, and a consequent sapping of initiative. Moreover, the raising of the burden on unprotected industries causes a tendency for ever more industries to demand further protection against the costs of protection. Particularly are certain primary industries liable to demand such assistance, a result that has already been apparent in this country. "Such assistance might take the form of bounties, of reduced freight charges upon Government railways, of the sale of land owned or resumed by Governments at less than its market value or of other expenditure in aid of Primary Production which would otherwise not have been made." Eventually there might result what Mr. Benham has called the "Gilbertian spectacle . . . of a nation endeavouring to direct labour and resources simultaneously in all directions." A stage which has also been described

as that at which the Government would be promoting each industry by taxing all the others. And the end, in effect, would be a perverted, expensive, and very unstable "Free Trade."

Clearly the description of the Tariff as "a powerful drug with excellent tonic properties, but with reactions on the body politic which make it dangerous in the hands of the unskilled and the uninformed," is not wide of the mark.

All the more reason, therefore, that in this country we should be careful to see that machinery exists that the drug be used merely as a tonic, that the quantities administered be impartially weighed out, and that its effects be watched by those who know how to observe them, and who will not be prevented from making their observations known.

There is little reason to believe that we have up to the present realized the necessity of such careful control. South Africa has drifted into the policy of high protection with few other safeguards as to its proper application than the statements of Ministers advised by the usual subordinate government departments. This faith in the sanctity of ministerial administration is a trait that has, at any rate in so far as economic affairs are concerned, already cost the country dear in other directions. It is the basic reason why government services such as the Railways and Harbours, and the telephone and telegraph system are inefficiently, or expensively, administered, and why the average citizen is as far

as possible kept in ignorance about them. So also with the Tariff.

It can be stated without fear of contradiction that it is at present impossible for any member of the public, or of Parliament for that matter, to obtain the statistical and other information which is necessary for an unbiassed examination of the effects of the South African policy of protection, of the costs and burdens it imposes on other industries, of the extent to which it has created *additional* employment and production, of the degree to which it has diverted resources from other (particularly the primary) industries, of the real cost of the policy to the taxpayer and the consumer, of the instances in which it has been unnecessarily imposed, of the effect it has had on efficiency, of the extent to which it has been perverted to undesirable uses, of the degree to which it conflicts with other forms of assistance given to the same or other industries, and lastly of its effects on the wage-level. Not even the Census and Statistics Office, which one might have thought would have concerned itself with some of these matters, has given the public information of a kind that could even serve as a substitute for the proverbial silence on essential problems in other quarters. It can also be stated without fear of contradiction that the reports of the Board of Trade and Industries are not of a kind to prove helpful in these matters[1]. That they should be helpful is hardly to

[1] See for example the remarkably naïve "propaganda" account of the "Effects of the Policy of Protection" issued as a report by the Board of Trade and Industries in the *Commercial and Industrial Gazette*, Vol. II, No. 13, the crudities of which, although they warrant it, we cannot, owing to lack of space, analyse here.

be expected, since the Board is now no longer anything but a most subservient advisory government department.

Owing to this state of affairs we are of the opinion that before any further protection be granted two steps which we regard of great importance should be taken. First that an impartial, expert, public inquiry be held, preferably under the chairmanship of an oversea expert, into the structure, the application, the effects, the extent, and the cost and burdens imposed by the present protective policy. Secondly, that the present Board of Trade and Industries be converted into a Tariff Board, and that its personnel be altered in any manner deemed necessary in order to ensure that the Tariff Board shall successfully carry out the functions we outline below, and shall command the respect and occupy the status necessary for the fulfilment thereof.

The functions of the Tariff Board should be :

(1) To report in detail on all applications for protection.

(2) To hold public inquiry, upon oath, on every application for protection, and to investigate the accounts, the factories, the products, and the organization of the applicants.

(3) To ensure that each and every application is made public, and that sufficient time is given for lodging objections to the application, upon which objections the Board is to take both written and oral evidence upon

oath—the Board to report upon and, as far as possible, to make public all evidence received[1].

(4) To estimate clearly, and in as great detail as possible, all the costs and effects of the protection applied for.

(5) To state unambiguously whether or not it thinks the application should be wholly or partially granted.

(6) To pay particular attention to the state of organization abroad of the kind of industry under investigation in South Africa, to the cost at which the articles to be manufactured in South Africa could be imported, to the efficiency with which the proposed industry can be conducted in South Africa, to the extent to which it is likely to cause a *diversion* of capital and labour from other industries, to the burden it will impose on other industries and on the consumer, to the extent to which, and why, it is regarded as of real value to the country, to the time for which protection will have to be imposed, to the measures that will ensure that thereafter protection can safely be withdrawn, to the grade and quality of the article to be manufactured and whether or not the Board is satisfied that its manufac-

[1] In this manner it should be possible to avoid in some measure the preparation by manufacturers of unchallenged cases for the granting of, or increase in, a duty with the hope of obtaining by means of *ex parte* statements of the facts sufficient support in the House to achieve their object.

ture in South Africa will not lead to a deterioration of that quality.

We are further of the opinion that, as recommended by the Australian Tariff Enquiry Committee, "The Board shall report at intervals of not more than five years on all commodities on which customs taxation is levied or bounties are paid, and in particular as to whether the producers are

(i) Charging unnecessarily high prices for their goods or

(ii) Acting in restraint of trade to the detriment of the public;

(iii) Acting in a manner which results in unnecessarily high prices being charged to the consumer for their goods."

We are of the opinion that the Board should act in entire independence in making its recommendations. It should be composed of economic experts, including men of considerable experience in industry. It should under no circumstances be degraded to the position of a body which gives advice to the Government only when its advice is sought, and the lines of whose advice are even then not necessarily made public. It should have the power to recommend the granting or withdrawal of protection of its own accord, without previous application, and to carry out, on its own initiative, any investigation it deems desirable. It should make any suggestions or reports to the Council of Economic Affairs that it thinks in the public interest.

On the basis of its reports the Government should introduce such protective legislation as it sees fit, and on the basis of the same reports Parliament will have the opportunity to discuss such legislation in an informed manner. We think it desirable, moreover, that changes in the tariff or in bounties should be made annually as part of the Appropriation Bills, and that the Tariff as a whole be included as part of these Bills, so that any particular duty or bounty may be challenged annually, and information concerning them be demanded.

We are of the opinion that, apart from the necessity of tariff-fixing machinery which is as "fool-proof" as possible, it is not desirable in South Africa to apply the policy widely. It should be confined to those industries which can approach reasonably near to the costs of production of the commodity overseas. We realize that in order that this be possible it may frequently be highly desirable to give particular industries opportunities for concentration and mass-production and to assure them the maximum market for an organized output. It will be frequently found that where this is not possible protection is unlikely to enable the establishment of such industries on a cost-of-production basis which is sufficiently low. Where concentration is brought about through protection, the public should be safeguarded against the abuse by the industry of its position. We agree that the best safeguard is that of "public knowledge and public criticism." We would lay special emphasis on

the fact that, in so far as protection is granted to industries which have not the possibility of producing efficiently at relatively low costs, the cost of the protective policy is correspondingly increased and the national income diminished; while at the same time "every bad case which is given protection will eventually prevent protection being given to some really promising industry." For this reason, in addition to the periodical review by the Tariff Board of the protected industries, every effort should be made to throw the responsibility of reducing the cost of protection on to the management and labour employed in each industry.

We are strengthened in our opinion that the protective policy should be most sparingly applied in South Africa by the fact that, as has been shown in Chapter I. of this Section, agriculture in our country is still in a stage of transition. It is as yet by no means in general conducted on those modern principles which are essential. It is on account of its present primitive organization that the full burdens imposed upon it by the protective policy are apt to be overlooked—just as in the Union's urban communities many of the costs of protection are not felt because they take the form of inferior quality rather than increased price. There is therefore a very considerable danger that a rigid protective policy will divert resources from agriculture before more adequate attempts have been made to apply those resources in this primary industry with greater efficiency. Any considerable diversion of

this nature is to be very much deprecated. It is interesting to note in this connection that the Australian Tariff Committee justified the large amount of protection that had developed in the past mainly on the ground that Australian resources in primary production (export industries) could not alone have been further developed economically to support the present population at its existing standard of life, and that manufacturing industries, notwithstanding the cost of protecting them, had filled the gap in this respect. Apart from the correctness or otherwise of this opinion, it illustrates the point we desire to make, namely, that the evidence so far available in South Africa does not indicate that our agricultural industry has yet reached such a stage. The same consideration applies with perhaps even greater force to our other primary industry—mining. By a remarkable coincidence the Australian Tariff Committee use in illustration a hypothetical example which indicates the position of our main mining industry remarkably well. They write—"A country with very rich gold mines, which provided all the exports, and with no lower-grade ore (available for mining), could gain a very considerable population by using the profits of the mines to subsidize manufacturing industry, unless its disadvantages in manufacturing were very exceptional. *But if the country depended for its exports on low grade ore, mostly near the margin of production, with large resources just below the margin, no appreciable increase of population could be achieved by protection in any form. Protection, in fact, would be*

disastrous, unless the comparative disadvantage in manufactures was very slight."

We feel that this quotation exactly characterizes the position of this country, and that only where our disadvantage in manufacturing production is very slight can we afford protective measures. That is why the most careful application of the policy is so essential. If it is not so applied, we will undoubtedly be throwing away a remarkably fortunate heritage in the form of vast bodies of low-grade ore, which over a period of forty years we have learned how to extract very effectively. Moreover, we may prevent the exploitation of other most important ore bodies which to-day we have only begun to discover or to exploit.

In concluding this review of the protective policy, we would urge, for reasons that need no further explanation, that the granting of any form of protection by any government department in any manner whatsoever other than as expressly provided by Parliament should be prohibited. It is not the function of such departments to devise other ways of developing the Union than those connected with the efficient performance of the tasks for which they have been created. Further, we are of opinion that the careful administration of the tariff, and even more so the granting of bounties out of the proceeds received in customs duties, should enable us to play an instructed part in co-operating with the other members of the Empire in devising reciprocal economic arrangements by means of which advantageous industrial and com-

mercial ties may be forged between them. We have already referred to the unique opportunity that the Dominions have of recording and exchanging technical and expert information. The same opportunities of mutual service exist in industry and commerce, and they should be exploited to the full.

Space will not permit of more than a rapid review of the remaining more important questions upon which agreement should exist as to their place in the national policy. In any case more than such brief reference to them is unwarranted here, as each will need the careful attention of the Council of Economic Affairs.

As regards agriculture we have, in Chapter I., already referred to the need of evolving a secure and equitable system of land tenure, and of preventing the tendency to excessive land-ownership by a progressive tax on unimproved-land values, and of increasing the efficiency of agricultural labour. These will have to be supplemented by a thorough investigation into, and re-organization and expansion of, the system of rural credit. In particular the Land Bank should be more closely merged into the general banking system of the Union. The present large degree of dependence of rural credit on government grants is extremely unsound. The same applies to the present system of financing agriculture from two government sources, the Department of Lands and the Land Bank. A study of the work of the Land Bank and of the Lands Department, including the Irrigation Department (to which we refer below), is long overdue. In common

with other government departments these have frequently adopted policies the economic wisdom of which is highly debatable; it is necessary that their activities be more clearly defined and related to the national economic policy as a whole.

The co-operative movement in agriculture, which could be made of immense value, needs examination. Particularly it needs cleansing of the extravagant and incorrect claims made on its behalf. In their place must be provided a correct account of the functions co-operation could and should perform. Above all, the time is ripe for a clear statement of the value of co-operation for productive purposes, of co-operation to prevent over-production, and of co-operation which will lead to an improvement in the quality and in the standardization of agricultural crops. The ludicrous spectacle of a Minister of Agriculture having no policy but that of following now one, now another, demand of the agricultural electorate as regards the extent to which co-operation is, without control, to be allowed to develop into inefficient monopoly (without those in charge of the movement being able to control production and supply) is not likely to create confidence as to the virtues of co-operation. A movement of this nature should not be fostered by government subsidy and hot-house treatment, since these destroy its most valuable attribute, which is the development of agricultural self-help and self-government.

The Union's past irrigation policy is one that most clearly illustrates the danger of leaving activities which should be decided upon in relation to a greater whole to be dealt with by bodies working in proud isolation. Irrigation is only one method of land reclamation and of increasing the amount of agricultural land available for certain kinds of production. It seems that it has been overlooked by those responsible for inaugurating large state irrigation schemes that the success of such schemes depends (1) on the possibility of constructing them at a cost which will enable the economic production upon them of crops for which there is a suitable market; (2) upon the possibility of obtaining efficient cultivators to do so. The latter consideration depends very largely upon the amount of other land, in relation to the supply of farmers, that is available and upon the use that is being made of such other land. If, for example, large tracts of land are being wastefully cultivated or not cultivated at all, it is not apparent for what purpose more land should be reclaimed by expensive construction projects. But the fact remains that irrigation is not the only means of bringing new agricultural areas into cultivation. Drainage, the eradication of malaria and afforestation, are others. It is important that this should be realized, and that by impartial expert investigation, it be decided in what way state funds should be spent on reclamation projects, bearing in mind other methods of bringing about the cultivation of land now neglected.

The body recommending such projects must be guarded against the common fallacy that national economic development involves a more or less equal expenditure on the development of the country's different geographical areas, or an equal division of the sums available between the claims of the different geographical sections of the electorate. Nothing could be further from the truth. A nation, like an individual industry, must first develop in the most productive directions. Lastly, it is important that means be developed for attracting private capital and initiative into taking up irrigation schemes. The subsidizing of these projects by the government, or their construction by governments entirely, leads to enormous waste, and to the diversion of the expenditure into channels which are often indicated by political and communal demands rather than economic needs. It is important, too, that communities, and not only the subsequent agricultural settlers, should bear part of the cost of these projects, as the whole of these surrounding communities, and not only those on the irrigated lands, benefit therefrom. In fact, the former are usually the loudest among those who demand that such projects be undertaken.

As regards industry and commerce we have already indicated at length how these could be assisted. It remains to refer to the manner in which they are financed and controlled. As regards finance there is urgent need for an investigation into the efficiency, suitability, and sufficiency of the banking system in

the Union, and particularly as to how the more suitable financing of developing manufacturing industry can be provided for. The enquiry could with great advantage be extended to include a study of the Stock Exchange, and what changes in company law could be made in order to prevent the evils of what are economically fraudulent or wasteful appeals to the investor, and how greater publicity in company accounts and reports can be obtained for these purposes.

There is very urgent need also for the investigation of monopolistic combines and agreements in restraint of trade, and how these can best be controlled without sacrificing the economies that are frequently obtained by such combines. A clear statement of the policy of the country on these, and allied matters, is very necessary. There is need also for a Bureau of Standards, which, working along the lines of similar bodies in other countries, will introduce simplification, standardization and interchangeability among commodities. The general opinion that such standardization can only be of value in a highly industrialized country is in our opinion incorrect. A country which still imports a large number of such commodities is in a very favourable position for laying down what grades of commodities are to be imported, and so not only bringing about a great saving in imports, but also preparing the way for elimination of waste and undue multiplicity of types and grades in its own future manufacturing processes.

As regards mining there should be a re-examination of the laws pertaining thereto, and the modification of all those which are burdensome or are likely to restrict mining development and the attraction of capital for that purpose. There is no reason why mining should be taxed indirectly, as for instance through railway rates, more heavily than other activities, and it is essential on the contrary that the unattractiveness of this form of enterprise owing to its risks should be modified as much as that can be done by government agency. Canada in recent years has pursued a successful policy of stimulating mining enterprise which might with advantage be investigated.

We have already referred to the necessity of improving working conditions in the Union, and we feel that it should be a special duty of the Council of Economic Affairs to devise social legislation which shall be up-to-date in this regard. Particularly also we would stress the importance of developing an adequate system of health, accident, and unemployment insurance in, and with the co-operation of, industry. There is also a most urgent need for a very great extension of, and improvement in, the present lamentably inadequate public health service. Such measures should not be confined to Europeans only.

It is not possible or desirable here to examine such detailed questions as those of national finance, rating and taxation. There is one matter of principle, however, that must in conclusion be mentioned. In the

very first pages of this chapter we referred to the necessity of discriminating carefully between the Agenda and the Non-Agenda of government, and to devising forms of government within a democracy which shall be capable of accomplishing the Agenda. Some of those forms we have tried to indicate in these pages. There is one group of government activities we have not yet mentioned, *i.e.*, the administration of enterprises which are essentially of a commercial nature by Departments of State. It is a matter of vital importance that in a sound economic policy there should be the most careful provision to ensure that such enterprises are administered in the manner best studied to their essential nature. The usual administrative methods of government departments do not and cannot ensure this. One of the most important and urgent problems in our country is that of curing the evils which result from this state of affairs, and in Chapter IV. of this Section one of these government enterprises in particular, the Railways and Harbours, has been examined in greater detail. The future economic policy of the Union should not shirk the making of the necessary vital changes in the administration of this and similar industries which are owned and managed on behalf of the citizens of the country as a whole.

Economic and social policy is perhaps the branch of politics where the nation in action has its best opportunities for enduring and fruitful effort. Let

us not fall behind in making full use of our powers. It was Tocqueville who wrote: "The physiognomy of a Government may be best judged in its colonies, for there its features are magnified and rendered more conspicuous. When I wish to study the merits and faults of the administration of Louis XIV., I must go to Canada; its deformity is there seen as through a microscope." It is the proud privilege of a young Dominion to reverse that process. Let us, both in political and economic affairs, study microscopically the deformities of older states so that we can take measures to prevent their growth in ours.

Chapter III.

THE WORKER IN INDUSTRY.

By J. D. Rheinallt Jones.

The story of the growth of industrial organization in South Africa is not a long one, but, while its earlier parts moved slowly, more recently there has been a considerable acceleration. It opened with the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley, but between 1869 and 1899 there was little to show that a new era had actually been ushered in. Those who controlled the diamond and gold mines, it is true, early discovered the advantages of combination and amalgamation, but the workers were scarcely conscious of the need for the organization of workers' associations. There is record of a strike at Kimberley in 1884, when the white miners objected to being stripped and searched for diamonds as was done in the case of native workers. Trade unions were to be found scattered over the country, but they were mostly made up of workers who had felt the need for maintaining their oversea trade-union connections. All the unions were branches of English unions, such as the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Iron Moulders' Society, the Engine Drivers' Union, and the Typographical Society, all organizations with a strong cohesive tradition, forming the aristocracy of labour.

Until 1899, then, there was comparatively little

activity in the field of industrial organization, although there had been a few strikes, such as the printers' strike in Durban in 1888, which lasted for a week, and the strike of the employees in the town engineering shops of Johannesburg in 1889, which lasted about four weeks. Indeed, such strikes as there were nearly all occurred in the Johannesburg area, where the exciting atmosphere of the mining ventures no doubt made for unsettlement. Generally speaking, white men's wages were comparatively high, and there were always opportunities for entering new and more hopeful avenues of employment. Little was to be gained by organization when the bulk of the workers were eager to make their own way in the world. As in the United States during recent years, more could be obtained without organization than with it. On the Witwatersrand this was certainly so, and only to a slightly lesser degree in other areas, for the Reef was always attracting workers from the coastal towns, where the loss of even one skilled worker was noticeable.

After the Anglo–Boer War there were feverish developments on the Witwatersrand, and in the coastal towns there was a commercial boom with a great deal of building activity. But when the depression came in 1905 the workers turned their attention to the establishment of unions. By this time the recent influx of skilled workers from England, Scotland and Wales had provided a sufficiently large number of workers in each class of occupation, who had trade-union tradition and experience, and had brought with them

some of the enthusiasm for trade-union organization which was rising rapidly in those countries. In the Transvaal the Witwatersrand Trades and Labour Council was gathering power on the industrial side, while the Labour Representation Committee was mobilizing in the political field. In the Cape the workers were badly hit by the depression, which was particularly severe there and forced a great many of them to leave for the Witwatersrand and elsewhere, their places being taken by Malays and coloured men, whom the white workers had in the previous years ousted from the occupations of masons, bricklayers, painters and carpenters.

Between 1903 and 1911 there were a number of strikes and lockouts in various parts of the country. The workers were at first badly organized, and the unions usually numbered a mere fraction of the total employed. Even in the miners' strike of 1907 the Transvaal Miners' Association had only 300 members. The increasing number of strikes caused the Transvaal Parliament to pass an Industrial Disputes Act in 1909 to provide machinery for the settlement of disputes.

But by 1911 workers' organizations were to be found in all the larger towns, and a sign of their growing solidarity at that time is to be found in the establishment of the Federation of Trades, which aimed at the development of one big union, which would be able to direct and control the white labour force of South Africa from one centre and with the maximum of effectiveness in cases of necessity.

In the meantime the employers had been slowly, very slowly, recognizing the necessity for the organization of employers' associations. The mines had already done so, largely because the proper recruitment and distribution of native labour and other practical problems of internal organization had made greater unity desirable.

The main advantage of organisation was considered on both sides—employer and employed—to be the more effective fighting force it provided, and the following years proved to be years of strife, a period in which both sides tried out their respective fighting machines.

The bitterness arising out of the big strike of July, 1913, aroused the workers to a sense of the need for solidarity, and there was an immediate and large accession to the number and membership of trade unions ; this was followed by the serious disorganization of the unions as a result of the upheaval in January, 1914, when many unions ceased to exist, and others lost heavily in membership, the movement generally suffering a severe setback.

The Great War, however, brought new problems, one of which, the rising cost of living, gave the surviving unions a rallying point, so that they became particularly active despite their comparatively small numbers. The war having taken large numbers of the skilled workers, the employers found difficulty in resisting the demands of the unions. The shortage of labour was increased by the rapid growth of industry, made possible by the

special protection afforded by war conditions. Everywhere employers were hard put to it to find labour, and they turned not only to the Non-Europeans (whose ranks had been swelled by the effects of the Natives Land Act of 1913 on the rural Natives), but also to the Poor Whites, who, too, were entering the towns from the rural areas in considerable numbers, owing to the bad conditions on the land. With little experience of town life and none of industrial conditions, the Poor Whites did not too readily prove to be suitable material. Nevertheless, on the mines at any rate, the Afrikaans-speaking worker became before long a noticeable factor.

Until the war period the trade-union movement had not been recognized by the Transvaal Chamber of Mines, but in 1915 a conference was held between the Chamber and the South African Industrial Federation, which was recognized as acting on behalf of affiliated unions. This led to the formal acceptance of this method of negotiation in regard to working conditions and to the development of a system (until 1922) under which "shop stewards," appointed by the workers in each class of work, were recognized as the official representatives of the workers.

Recognition of trade unions now became general. Reference Boards and Joint Boards were established in various industries, and the policy of conducting negotiations through representatives at joint conferences was accepted. The passing of the Regulation of Wages, Apprentices and Improvers Act in 1918, marked the

real beginning of organized efforts for the adjustment of working conditions through Joint Boards, and this Act, although it was not so widely used as it ought to have been, served with the Transvaal Industrial Disputes Act of 1909 to provide experience for the further development of the sense of joint responsibility. But this policy was often in danger, for the constant increases in the cost of living, especially after the war, caused unrest, and no sooner had an agreement been concluded in an industry than there would be new demands. In 1915 there were only two disputes recorded, but during 1920 the number was 66, involving 105,658 workers. The break in prices in 1920 and the consequent depression are reflected in the fact that in 1921 there were only 25 strikes, and in 1922 there were only 12.

In 1919 a new factor made its appearance through the establishment of a native union—the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (I.C.U.). In the years 1918, 1919 and 1920 there were a number of strikes in which native and coloured workers only were concerned. In a strike at Cape Town in 1918 there were 8,000 natives involved, and 40,000 in that at Johannesburg in 1920. As native workers are still under the control of the Masters and Servants Laws, and the Native Recruiting Act, the use of the strike weapon by them is definitely a criminal offence, as was shown when the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg (who three months before had acted as arbitrator in a white printers' dispute) in June, 1918, sentenced

native strikers to two months' imprisonment, saying: "While in gaol they would have to do the same work as they had been doing, and would carry out the employment with an armed escort, including a guard of Zulus armed with assegais and white men with guns. If they refused to obey orders they would receive lashes as often as might be necessary to make them understand that they had to do what they were told."

The cataclysm of 1922, while it crippled the trade unions, did not destroy the policy of representative negotiation. Indeed, it served to awaken the whole country to the necessity for some system whereby such upheavals could be avoided. The success which had attended the working of the National Industrial Council of the Printing and Newspaper Industry since 1919 gave encouragement to the view that the establishment in each industry of national or even local councils, consisting of representatives of employers' associations and of trade unions, and having regular sessions, would do more than anything else for industrial peace. And so in 1923 the Smuts Government introduced legislation to inaugurate self-government in industry. After careful consideration by a Select Committee of the House of Assembly, the Industrial Conciliation Act was passed in 1924. Its main purpose is to prevent strikes, and in this it has been singularly successful, but, as will be seen later, the Act has yielded results of a far-reaching nature in other directions.

Under the Act any employer or employers' organization in any industry (except in agriculture and government undertakings) "may agree with a registered trade union or group of registered trade unions for the establishment of an Industrial Council for the consideration and regulation, in accordance with the Act, of matters of mutual interest to them, and the prevention and settlement of disputes between them." The responsible Minister (who is now the Minister of Labour) may register the Council when he is satisfied that the conditions of the Act have been complied with and that the Council "would be sufficiently representative within any area of the particular undertaking, industry, trade or occupation." The Act also provides for the setting up of Conciliation Boards, where no Industrial Council exists, for the settlement of specific disputes. The agreements of Industrial Councils and Conciliation Boards become, under certain conditions, binding upon all the employers and employees in the area covered. Pass-bearing Natives (that is, practically all Native workers outside the Cape Province) were until recently excluded from the operations of the Act, but an amendment to the Act passed in 1930 provides that Industrial Councils may apply for the recognition of agreements covering occupations in which Natives are engaged.

The Industrial Councils meet the needs of those industries in which the employers and the workers

are well organized, but there are many occupations which are not, and some which will not be for a very long time, sufficiently well organized. For these the Hertzog Government in 1925 secured the passing of the Wage Act, setting up a Wage Board to provide for the fixing of a minimum wage in certain occupations not covered by agreements under the Industrial Conciliation Act. Again agricultural workers are excluded as well as Government employees, while domestic servants are also not covered. The Act sets out to safeguard "civilized habits of life," and the awards of the Board must be based upon a standard which will ensure that the workers will be able to maintain "civilized habits of life." What the standard should be the Act does not specify. It does, however, recognize that there are occupations in regard to which the Board will find itself unable to make recommendations in accordance with this principle, and in Section III., sub-section 3, the Board is required to report to the Minister of Labour if it cannot recommend "for a particular trade or section a wage or rate upon which such employees may be able to support themselves in accordance with civilized habits of life," and to give the reasons why it cannot make such a recommendation. The Minister may then direct the Board to make such recommendations as it may deem suitable. This was done in the case of unskilled workers in a number of occupations in the Bloemfontein area. The workers were all Natives, and the wage fixed by the Board was

3s. 6d. a day. The Minister of Labour has refused to allow the Board to make recommendations in further cases.

While measures were being introduced to extend the principle of self-government in industry and to improve generally conditions of labour, steps were also being taken to provide facilities for vocational training and vocational guidance. The Juveniles Act of 1921 gave statutory powers to the Juvenile Affairs Board, which had been in existence in various centres since 1917. These Boards have done useful work in the preparation of juvenile workers for industry and in securing employment for those leaving school. In 1922 an Apprenticeship Act was passed, setting up Apprenticeship Committees of employers and employees to control and direct the conditions of apprenticeship in a number of trades. These Committees and the Juvenile Affairs Boards are responsible for the preparation of the entrants for industry and their distribution in employment. Neither Act contains any clause restricting its operation to any racial section of the community, but in practice the Boards and Committees concern themselves only with European youths, except in certain areas of the Cape Province where "coloured" youths are cared for by special Boards and are admitted into apprenticeship in certain trades. Apprenticeship is now the rule in the Building, Mechanical Engineering, Electrical Engineering, Furniture, Food (Baking), Printing, Carriage Building and Leather industries.

Within a few years, then, South Africa has provided herself with the framework of an industrial organization in which employers and employees have joint responsibility for the conditions of labour. The pressing purpose of the legislation has been achieved, for the Union has enjoyed remarkably calm weather in industry since 1922; there has been complete immunity from the storms which characterized the years from 1907 to 1922. Possibly the experience of co-operation between " Capital and Labour " will save the country from industrial upheavals. There are, however, on the horizon a few problems which will require considerable skill for their solution. It is with these that industrial statesmanship should now be concerned.

Despite the vicissitudes which have attended the recommendations of the Wage Board—and it has surely experienced more than its share of setbacks through the upsetting of its awards in the courts on technical grounds—there is ample evidence that the Wage Act ought to be retained. Had the Wage Board not been in existence, it is more than doubtful whether the Industrial Conciliation Act would have been as effective as it has been, and there is no doubt that the Board is a necessary complement of the Industrial Councils. On the other hand strong objection has been taken to the way in which the Board has functioned. It has not only fixed minimum wages to safeguard " civilized habits of life " in depressed occupations, but has also arranged scales of wages throughout every industry

brought before it. It is held that this is work which should be undertaken by industrial councils. While the Board's determinations seem to have had the effect of discouraging the establishment of industrial councils in the industries affected by its determinations, employers' associations feeling that, high scales having been fixed by the Wage Board, industrial councils would regard these as minima, while trade unions feel that an industrial council could hardly improve on the scales. On the other hand there are cases in which employers' associations have "rigged up" organizations of employees for the establishment of an industrial council merely to evade an investigation by the Wage Board.

Recent amendments to the Act make this evasion more possible.

Nevertheless, the principle of the prevention of industrial disputes without state intervention is so sound that no action should be taken that would discourage an industry from assuming its own responsibilities. In these matters the Wage Board should only be called in where the establishment of a satisfactory Industrial Council is found to be quite out of the question for a long time.

Speaking generally, the two Acts have given the European worker special protection, at any rate for the time being. The popularity of the "White Labour" policy, which makes a strong appeal to the racial prejudices of European employers and employees, has caused Industrial Councils to agree upon wage

rates which encourage the employment of Europeans rather than non-Europeans. Wage scales have been fixed for immediate application, and the sudden change-over has sometimes made it impossible for the non-European workers to justify themselves at the new rates, with resultant industrial mal-adjustment. The strength of public sentiment has been such that employers have been prepared to face some of the disabilities which this has imposed upon them. Meanwhile, as non-European workers generally (except in the case of Coloured workers in the Cape who are members of trade unions) have no representation on Industrial Councils, their interests are quite unprotected.

The Wage Board, however, can and does hear evidence on behalf of non-European workers, and, while the popular view of the term " civilized labour " is that it is synonymous with " White Labour," the Board, through its Chairman, has on several occasions repudiated the charge that it pursued its work with the idea of replacing non-European workers by Europeans. Nevertheless, there appears to be some justification for the complaint that the Wage Board awards have made too sudden a demand upon non-Europeans to qualify for the higher wages laid down.

The general effect of recent legislation has been to discourage the use of non-European labour in every field where any kind of skill is required. This is true of the " Colour Bar " Act (Mines and Works Act Amendment Act, 1926) which, although hitherto it

has served rather as a threat than as an actual weapon, has had a definite and profound influence upon industrial policy in respect of the employment of non-Europeans.

How has it been possible for the industry to bear the sudden imposition of higher wage rates and of improved conditions generally? There are three main reasons, and they have an important bearing upon the future of the industrial policy of the Union.

In the first place full use has been made of the Tariff, the enhancement and the extension of which have more than kept pace with the advance in working conditions. The unnatural protection afforded by the Great War to the newly-established industries of the Union had shown that South African industries could be assisted by the manipulation of the Tariff. At the close of the war there was a popular demand for the development of industries, and South Africa embarked upon the task of fostering its latent industries. The first step taken was an adjustment of the Tariff to place the industries in the sheltered position which they had occupied during the war. This extension of the Tariff coincided with the developments in wage regulation and in the closer organization of industry. The Tariff has been liberally used to assist industries to make their wage adjustments, particularly where "poor whites" were substituted for non-Europeans, and where the apprenticeship of white youths was instituted.

Secondly, increased production, restriction of the proportion of workers employed, and increased

efficiency in the occupations concerned have assisted in meeting the extra cost.

Thirdly, improved conditions were secured, at any rate until very recently, by the best organized of the trades, which were able to "make snug" at the expense of the community as a whole. The first group to take advantage of the policy of industrial self-government, the printing trade, had the full benefits of their early entry into the field of wage regulation. They were well organized, they were supported by an inextensive but high tariff wall, and they were able to meet their increased costs by raising the cost of printing to the public. The printing trade came to be regarded as the model for all other industries. Their example has certainly been most stimulating, and as long as the wealth of the Union was growing and the example was not too widely followed, it was fairly easy to make considerable adjustments in wages and working conditions generally.

The very success of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wage Act, however, is likely to bring difficulties in its train, and these may easily prove to be serious in their effects upon the policy of industrial self-government.

In the first place, the leaders of the trade unions engaged in the work of the Industrial Councils tend to lose touch with the views of the rank and file of the unions. For the leaders' experience of the practical difficulties which attend the adjustment of labour conditions provides width of vision and leads to

moderation in thought and action. But in the unions themselves the rank and file, who do not share this experience, find the moderate counsels of their leaders to be irksome. This leads either to the growth of suspicion, ending in the removal of the leaders from office, or to loss of faith in the value of organization and the lapsing of membership. It is by no means uncommon to hear fierce denunciation of the existing industrial legislation on the ground that it fetters the freedom of the worker.

Secondly, the large influx into industry of workers from rural areas, which the "white labour" policy has encouraged, has brought into the trade-union movement a class wholly unacquainted with trade-union traditions and quite inexperienced in trade-union methods. For the time being, at any rate, its main interest lies in the political field, and it is only to a minor degree concerned with economic issues.[1] These new industrial workers at first find cash wages to be princely as compared with subsistence farming or the meagre remuneration of the "bywoner." Their influence at the moment is felt mostly in mine workers' organizations, but it is rapidly extending to other sections of labour. For the time being the experienced trade unionist holds the reins, but as his type is not entering South Africa his passing is only a question of time. Before this happens, will there be time to interest the new worker in the problems of

[1] The unhappy position of Labour's political forces is in a great measure due to this fact. The actual "Labour vote" to-day is infinitely smaller than it has been since 1907.

industrial organization and to persuade him to undertake his responsibilities as a co-partner in industry? The whole future of the policy of industrial conciliation and self-government depends upon this.

Thirdly, as industrial and commercial undertakings come more and more to be governed by the existing legislation, the limits of the adjustment of working conditions become more and more restricted. It is less and less easy to secure the favourable conditions obtained by the most highly organized groups in the earlier years, if only because there are more and more competitors for the benefits. The narrowing of the " elbow room " may be expected to result in growing impatience with the slowing down of the pace of wage adjustment.

Lastly, the standardization of wage and labour conditions makes a call upon employers, who find it increasingly difficult to adjust themselves to the demands made upon them. In addition to appealing for more and higher tariffs, they tend to increase the pressure upon their employees, and generally to economize in the amount of labour they employ. There is a tendency, too, to use juveniles in the place of adults, and to take advantage for this purpose of the apprenticeship system to the fullest extent possible. These measures create in the minds of the workers a sense of insecurity and even of injury, and they associate the discharge of labour and the increased pressure with industrial legislation. The most bitter comments

upon the Juvenile Affairs Boards, the Apprenticeship Committees, the Industrial Councils and the Wage Board usually come from the workers, especially from those who have found themselves not only unemployed, but also prevented from offering their labour for what it will fetch.

These are the danger spots in so far as the attitude of trade unions to industrial legislation is concerned, and they cannot be ignored by those who are anxious for the continuance of peaceful industrial relations.

It appears, then, that South Africa must pause in her step to consider afresh her industrial policy, if only to insure that its effectiveness is not endangered by disruptive factors. But there are wider considerations which ought also to be faced. Nothing has been said of the effects of the policy upon primary industries; and little has been said regarding its effects upon the non-European sections of the population and the non-industrial Europeans. These must now be passed in review, but in doing so we shall have to keep in mind the measures that may have to be taken to ensure the effective application of the existing industrial legislation.

Hitherto, the raising of industrial standards has been possible because (*a*) comparatively few occupations were covered by industrial agreements and awards, (*b*) the tariff has helped to cover the additional cost and to secure reorganization of the personnel of the labour force, and (*c*) increased production, restriction

of labour and greater efficiency have been turned to for assistance. How far are these means still available and desirable?

(*a*) Professor Henry Clay in his address on "The Public Regulation of Wages in Great Britain," delivered before the British Association at Johannesburg in August, 1929, speaking of conditions in Great Britain, said: "So long as everybody was not organized to attempt it, it was always possible that favoured trades, by means of a monopolistic organization, might secure for themselves a larger share of the final price received for industry's products . . . . . All [wage-earning groups] are now organized, or provided by the government with equivalent protection; all are able to set and hold rates of wages as firmly as the minority of well-organized trades were able to hold them before the war. . . . . We must confirm that the extension of trade unions or Government control over the whole field of commercial wage-employment has cancelled an advantage which the work people in the organized trades used to possess."

In order to ensure general equality in industry, the whole field must be covered by wage regulation. But it is not sufficient merely to ensure that every industrial occupation is so covered. There must be (1) correlation of the rates fixed, (2) consideration of the position of workers in fields other than industry, and (3) an examination of the situation as a whole, having special regard to the likely effects of the rates upon production and employment. As the majority report of the

Economic and Wage Commission says, "No wage rate is an isolated thing," and, in the words of Professor Clay: "The competition between different groups for the national income is not confined to industrial wage-earning occupations. Other classes are also affected by it. The extension of collective bargaining therefore may enable industrial wage-earners as a class to secure an increased share of the product of the nation's economic activity at the expense of other, still unorganized classes . . . . In other countries [than the United Kingdom] where industrial wage-earners alone enjoy the advantages of trade-union or Government regulation of their remuneration, backed up often by protective tariffs, and there are large numbers in the 'unprotected' classes, particularly in agriculture, the possibility is important. With other influences the public regulation of industrial wages helps to account for the world-wide divergence of industrial and agricultural prices." That this statement has a definite application to South African conditions is seen in paragraph 104 of the Economic and Wage Commission's Majority Report: "Three dangers of disturbance emerge. The gap between industrial and agricultural incomes, between urban and rural rates, which already is so wide that it is an important cause of rural depopulation and overcrowding in towns, is likely to be widened with a consequent intensification of the evils already caused. And with every widening of the gap discontent among the lower-paid agricultural workers is likely to grow, and the possibility of retaining

them on the land, without an advance in payment, to diminish. In the second place, workers of the same occupation in industry may be faced with differing wage rates, which will unsettle all of them ; for example, mechanics' wages may be fixed at one level in the Railway Administration by the recommendation of the Railway Conciliation Board, at a different level by an engineering industrial council for engineering firms, and at a different level again by the Wage Board for mechanics employed by the gold-mining industry. In the third place, discontent may be caused in one industry by the spectacle of advances awarded in another industry, which the workers in the first industry are unable to secure."

It is therefore wrong to ignore the effects of wage regulation upon those classes which are excluded. The present wage-fixing legislation excludes Agriculture, and few will question the wisdom of this at the present stage, but for the sake of Agriculture itself some measures will have to be taken to stem the flow of land workers—white and black—into the industrial areas. It is doubtful if even the accumulation of a glut of labour in the towns will have much effect upon this flow. The whole agrarian situation is changing before our eyes, but no one considers it necessary to examine the economic factors at work. The time has come for a survey of labour conditions on the land and of the effects of industrial policy upon Agriculture.

Provision must also be made for the proper representation on industrial councils of those sections of workers

which are not included in the membership of trade unions. If, of course, it were intended definitely to exclude all non-Europeans from industry, this would not be done. But no one seriously suggests that this drastic course should be adopted. As long as non-Europeans are in industry, their interests must be reckoned with in industrial agreements and awards.

South Africa is dependent upon non-European labour, and the average percentage of European employees in manufacturing industry is 40·9 and in mining 10·5 ; this can only be augmented by bleeding Agriculture still further, the number of " poor whites " in urban areas still to be absorbed being inconsiderable as against the number that would be required. Even if a certain number of occupations have been closed to non-Europeans by the fixing of wages at too high a scale, there is a definite limit to this policy, because there is not available a sufficient supply of white labour, and also because it restricts industry within narrow limits. It makes no provision for industrial expansion, restricts the employment of European workers, and sets a definite limit to the increase of wealth from which in the long run higher wages must be paid. At present " joint monopoly " agreements and the awards of the Wage Board have succeeded just because their effects are felt within quite a limited circle. If the policy were applied generally, it would lead to great difficulties. Agreements and awards which ignore the interests of the non-European must also before long injure the interests of the European.

The proper organization of wage-fixing, then, should not only provide for the covering of every possible organization with the necessary machinery, but also secure the means for a survey of the situation as a whole. In the address already referred to, Professor Clay remarks that in the United Kingdom " the defect in the machinery for wage negotiation is the purely sectional character of its deliberations. It is no one's business to consider wages as a whole; there is no authority charged with the duty of reminding Wage Boards of their responsibility to industry in general," so that the national effects of agreements and awards may be fully realized.

A national review of the position in South Africa at the present time would reveal the great disparities which exist between different occupations and between different classes in these occupations. There are great gaps between the wages of the highly-paid classes and those of the low-paid. These gaps will have to be made up as time goes on; but so wide are the gaps that the highly-paid classes will have to be content with little or no variation of their wage rates for a long time to come. This will tend to increased distrust of existing wage-fixing machinery among these groups.

(*b*) The effects of the manipulation of the tariff were most obvious in those occupations which were the earliest to set about wage-fixing. While wages have become more extensively standardized, the cost of living has, under the effects of the tariff, shown an upward tendency. And, as the benefits of the tariff

have been extended to an ever greater number of occupations, these benefits have become less valuable. Protection tends to diminish in effectiveness as its range is increased, for " protection for all is protection for none." So, also, as the application of the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Wage Act is extended to other industries, the benefits to be obtained from the tariff tend to become slighter.

Beyond the fact that the butter has to be spread more sparely, there is also the effect that the tariff has upon Agriculture, for as costs increase the pressure of economic forces upon the land worker tend to drive him from the land. This is true of both the white worker and the Native. An increase of 300% in the cost of native blankets is proving a very heavy additional tax upon the Native, to meet which he must go to the towns to work for cash wages, there to increase the competition for work. In other ways Agriculture suffers, since it is one of the industries which stand to lose most by protection, as it must produce at a level that will enable it to sell in the world's markets.

The effects of tariff manipulation are also felt by the consumers of the products of the manufacturing industry, as the following statement of the Majority Report of the Economic and Wage Commission shows : " It is necessary, therefore, to consider where this higher wage comes from. It is not, we have seen, derived from an increase in the national production ; it can only come, therefore, from the pockets of the consumers of manufacturing industry—in other words,

from the farmers, miners, railway employees, civil servants, professional men and Natives who buy the products of manufacturing industry. The representatives of the different Chambers of Industry, with equal candour and justification, declared their willingness to pay any level of wages that the Wage Board might award, on condition that the Government raised the tariff on their goods sufficiently to enable them to collect the additional revenue needed to pay the higher wages in the form of higher prices from the consumer, and their inability to pay any higher wages than they were doing unless they were enabled to secure higher prices."

The manipulation of the tariff to secure better wage conditions is therefore not only progressively less advantageous to the industries concerned, but it is also attended by serious dangers to the other sections of the population.

(c) Increased production in South Africa under a protective tariff will depend upon an expansion of the home market, for industries manufacturing for foreign trade are handicapped by protection. The home market is a very limited one by reason of the social backwardness and low purchasing power of the non-European, and this power is not likely to be increased by the exclusion of the non-European from the benefits of wage adjustments. Even were the wages of all European workers to be increased, the market limit would soon be reached again. The rapid development

of South African industries is likely to slow down before long, for the existing needs of the community are being rapidly met. Further expansion will have to be provided for by increasing the purchasing power of those sections of the community which have not yet been reached.

After this discussion, the present position of industrial organization in South Africa may perhaps be summarized very briefly:

1. The European workers and employers are now fairly well organized, and the existing legislation provides every inducement for the organization of all industrial occupations into trade unions and employers' associations.

2. The non-European workers are for the most part excluded from trade union organisation.

3. The Industrial Conciliation Act, the Wage Act and the Apprenticeship Act provide means for the adjustment of wage rates and for the development of the policy of self-government in industry, except that non-European workers are in practice excluded from the benefits of these measures.

4. The Acts and the Tariff have been used for the employment of Europeans in place of non-Europeans.

5. As these various measures are being more extensively applied and more occupations are competing for their benefits, their protective value becomes less obvious to the European worker and

there is growing dissatisfaction, while consumers and other sections are suffering from the increased burdens which are placed upon them.

It is clear that no further wage legislation is desirable. We have all the machinery necessary: all that is required is the careful adjustment of the several parts to ensure smooth working. Industry must now be encouraged to devote its attention to other factors in working conditions besides wage-fixing. If "civilized standards" are to be maintained, something more than wage machinery is required, for, as we have seen, there are limits to wage adjustments and tariff manipulations. More and more Industry will have to turn to other ways of meeting demands for improved working conditions.

There is no little danger that it will prefer to exploit Agriculture, Mining and the General Consumer rather than look within for relief. Employer and worker must learn to apply their experience of combination and co-operation to secure more economical production through better internal organization and greater use of mechanical methods and labour-saving devices, through improved workmanship (for example, by more efficient workshop training of apprentices), extended health services and cleaner working conditions. It is fully time that South Africa take advantage of the experience of other countries in the development of those social agencies which are really essential adjuncts of modern industrial organization—*e.g.*, health, accident and unemployment insurance.

If the nation as a whole is to derive full benefit from the industrial policy of the Union, it will be necessary for steps to be taken to correlate the activities of the Industrial Councils, the Wage Board and the Tariff Board, not only within industry, but in relation to Agriculture and other sections of the economic life of the nation, and for the trade unions to include in their organizations all classes of workers.

With regard to the first point the Economic and Wage Commission anticipated the difficulties which were bound to arise, and the Majority Report made recommendations in explicit terms.

It recommended that the Wage Board should take into consideration the rates of pay and conditions of employment in Agriculture and in rural areas generally as well as the factors specified in the Wage Act in any and every report it makes. The public service commissioners should be required to consult with the Chairman of the Wage Board in regard to wage conditions in the public service. Similarly, the Chairman should be made aware of wage alterations proposed in the Railway Administration. All agreements and awards under the Industrial Conciliation Act should be submitted to the Wage Board for comment before registration. The Wage Board should become a co-ordinating and advisory body in respect of all wage regulations.

Beyond this there is need for a careful examination of the economic situation on the land.

The continued flow from the land of its labour force cannot be stemmed by measures which, like the drugs of the quack, merely remove the surface sores. The "white labour" policy may be pursued until every "poor white" has been placed in Industry, but in the meantime Agriculture will have been bled of its white workers. To prevent this calamity it will be necessary to amend the conditions on the land itself where, as has been shown in Chapter I. of this section, the white *bywoner*, like the Native "squatter," has no proper economic status. When the land worker finds himself unable to satisfy his social needs unless he has cash in his pocket, it is small wonder that a definite cash wage is a powerful magnet drawing him into the towns. Clothes, school-fees and taxes at least demand payment in cash—a commodity which is scarcest on the land. Progressive farmers are beginning to find that in order to keep their labour they must pay a cash wage, and that cash-paid labour is the most satisfactory kind. Agriculture in South Africa must be assisted to adjust itself to the new situation. Neither the Industrial Conciliation Act nor the Wage Act is suited to the needs of the land worker, and it will be necessary to proceed with the greatest deliberation in any alteration of the working conditions on the land. But undoubtedly the first step will have to be the education of the farming community to the necessity of saving itself by inducing the worker to remain on the land through improved conditions. He can only be kept on the land by one of two methods :

either he must be compelled by force to " remain put " or else he can be induced by better working conditions to see the advantages of life on the land. Hitherto nothing has been done to enlighten the farmer on these matters, and no political party has been prepared to undertake such an unpopular task.

Lastly, we come to the problem of the relations between European and non-European workers. Ever since 1919, when Native workers were first organized, this question has been growing more acute. But long before that it was evident to careful observers that it would not always be possible for the White workers to ignore the claims of the non-Europeans. As far back as 1907, during the trade depression in Cape Town, the relations between white and coloured workers demanded attention ; but white workers, when faced with the competition of coloured men, preferred to move north rather than consider the possibility of the inclusion of non-Europeans in their unions. The strike of 1922 and the subsequent legislation have served to bring into prominence this problem in racial adjustment. But, perhaps more than all, the pouring of " poor whites " and " poor blacks " into the towns has been responsible for the tension of feeling between the two groups.

Neither the " colour bar " nor any other existing legislation will in the end serve to protect the white worker from the non-European. Restrictive measures only serve to dry up the means by which production can be made to flow and the white worker enabled to

find adequate employment. If the non-European is to be forced out of industry, we must be content with a much narrower scale of industrial life and a constriction not only of the development of industry but also of the whole basis of our national social and economic life. If he is to be retained in industry, the white worker has no alternative but to reckon with him, and to find some means whereby both can exist side by side in industry without injury to either.

There are three courses open to the trade unions. Either the Europeans must open their unions to non-Europeans, or they must organize the non-Europeans in unions affiliated to their own unions, or the non-Europeans must be free to organize their own separate unions, with separate representation on Industrial Councils.

The first course is probably too much to ask of white workers to-day; although few unions actually have a colour bar in their constitutions, the social gulf is too great; and, so far at any rate, however much experience may have taught the leaders, the rank and file will not consider the admission of non-Europeans into their meetings and discussions. That the leaders recognize the needs of the situation is shown by the resolution passed at the annual meeting of the South African Trades Union Congress held in April, 1929: "This Congress, being aware that during the past year the National Executive Council has had several conferences with non-European workers' organizations on the question of co-operation with European unions

for mutual protection, resolves: That the most satisfactory method of organization is to include all workers in a given industry or trade in one union. If this is for various reasons not practicable at the moment, then branches of the union should be opened to receive non-European workers who are otherwise eligible to join; and if neither of these proposals is adopted then parallel unions for non-European workers should be registered and have representation on the various bodies set up under the Industrial Conciliation and Apprenticeship Acts." The logic of the facts has convinced the leaders of the true position, but the gulf which exists between leaders and the rank and file, as indicated earlier, is probably too great to warrant the assumption that the resolution reflects the general body of opinion among workers.

The second course does offer a way out of the present position, provided the white workers "play fair." It would be infinitely preferable to the creation of wholly separate unions and would serve as a means whereby non-Europeans could be trained in trade union methods. As has been said, "Two opposing unions cannot cover the same ground; one or other must win out, unless steps are taken to secure a correlation of interests."

The situation makes it imperative that some means be found to correlate the interests of all workers, for economic laws know nothing of race or colour, and unless this is done the person who stands to lose most is the white worker.

In concluding this review of labour policy in the Union, it remains only to emphasize once again the urgent necessity for ensuring that the economic development of the Union shall be well proportioned with due respect to the best interests of all sections of the community.

Chapter IV.

ROAD AND RAIL TRANSPORT.

By S. Herbert Frankel.

In September, 1905, there was published[1] a book written by a Professor of Railway Economics in the Chicago University, which was destined to play an important part in moulding the future railway system of the—at that time still non-existent—Union of South Africa.

Unfortunately it was a reactionary book. It could without much exaggeration be described as the apotheosis of the management of railways on the principle of leaving all railroad questions to be decided on the good old *laissez faire* principle of adapting them to "commercial conditions" as competition might dictate them, and traffic managers interpret them. Thus rates, for example, would be decided, on the principle, even in 1930 still dear to our own old-fashioned railway rates officers, of "what the traffic will bear" with no inconvenient questions asked as to what that muddled slogan really means, as to how it is being applied, as to what its effects are, and, most important of all, with no machinery available to the mere railway user of challenging the divine wisdom of those applying it.

[1] Hugo R. Meyer, *Government Regulation of Railway Rates.* Macmillan, 1905.

As a matter of fact this book was inspired by a widespread movement in the United States against (with sympathetic echoes in the railway world as a whole), and was itself a drastic attack on, the principle of judicial or governmental regulation of railroads. It ended its wide survey with the gloomy prognostication that it is impossible for the State to conserve and promote the public welfare by intervening in the regulation of railway rates beyond certain very narrow limits, such as those designed to prevent personal discrimination.

At the same time this book had nothing but derision to heap on the results of handing over the railways to the operation of the State itself. It pointed with truth to the, by that time, classic example of the *State Railway Muddle in Australia*, to use a title of another pre-war book. It had much to say of the influence of politics on the railways and the railways on politics, not only in Australia, but in Prussia, Russia and other countries. In fact, its thesis that government ownership had led to inflexible, extremely mediocre, unimaginative, wasteful and uneconomic railway administration, with railway services and charges based on the strength of political strings pulled in all manner of directions, was largely substantiated. It is of interest that similar charges have again been made in a comprehensive survey by another American writer recently.[1]

[1] W. M. W. Splawn, *Government Ownership and Operation of Railroads*. Macmillan. 1928.

The main interest to us of the earlier book lies in the fact that its conclusions were negative; that Professor Meyer argued his case for *laissez faire* in railroad matters on the same plane as those who were clamouring for state ownership, and that he left the subject in the same controversial, unimaginative, and unrealistic atmosphere in which he had found it. It was under these clouded conditions, intensified in their minds by the experience of the evils of political railway management in the Cape Colony on the one hand, and unpleasant reports of the scandals of private railway finance and management on the other, that the members of the South African National Convention proceeded to plan the future of the South African Railways and Harbours.

They were not railway experts, these gentlemen; few of them had had any extensive commercial experience; and as a result they did the only thing that could under the circumstances have been expected—they left controversies to the controversialists, they compromised and they concentrated on immediate problems that were plain to all.

They had before them[1] a Memorandum on *The Technicalities of Railway Management*, which in particular discussed "South African Railway Unification and its Effect on Railway Rates." It was very largely based on Professor Meyer's book, from which it quoted at considerable length. The Memorandum's

[1] The Memorandum formed an Appendix to *A Review of the Present Mutual Relations of the British South African Colonies*, popularly known as the Selborne Memorandum. 1907.

analysis of rate-making principles is in large part antiquated, although unfortunately many of its now outworn principles are still followed unwittingly by the present rates officers of the South African Railways and Harbours Administration. In many respects, however, the Memorandum was a remarkably fine effort and succeeded admirably in presenting the main problems confronting the country. It is of importance to us owing to the emphasis it laid on three points.

First, that one of the greatest causes of disunion in South Africa was the internecine struggle between the four railway systems for the largest share of the valuable through traffic to the Transvaal. It showed that this was a fight not merely between the various railway lines but between the different colonies, republics and ports, and illustrated the point by reference to a similar struggle in Australia for command of the traffic to the "Riverina," the then great wool-producing centre of that country where "the fight between the several railways for the traffic to and from the Riverina was not so much a mere struggle for railway revenue as it was a struggle between Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide for commercial and financial supremacy in Australia." This might well serve as a reminder to us even to-day that much of our railway policy is still based on merely local jealousies and on the influence of the various ports.

Second, it was most concerned to point out (*a*) the evils of political interference by governments in the

administration of state railways, particularly in causing them to reduce rates where it does not pay to do so, or to provide services gratuitously for government departments, or by burdening them with other uneconomic practices ; (*b*) the ill effects of too great rigidity in administration to which government railways were liable ; it therefore " regarded it as the first essential of efficient management that the South African State Railways should be freed from and safeguarded against both these dangers by being required to work on 'business principles.' "

Third, it emphazised that the railways should be managed by an independent Railway Commission, " . . . beyond the control of the Executive " and " divorced absolutely from political control." It even suggested that railway affairs would be kept sufficiently under the scrutiny of Parliament if the Railway Commissioners were required to report at frequent intervals to the Ministry, and if " there were a *competent* political Minister to *advise* and *assist* the Commissioners," words which must surely sound strange to the ears of a South African electorate used to seeing a handful of so-called railway commissioners grovelling at the feet of an autocratic, rather than expert, Minister of Railways.

It is, however, of interest that although the authors of this historic Memorandum thought that, once all undesirable political influences were excluded, the railway commissioners " would be solely concerned

with working the railways in the most efficient manner in the public interest " they nevertheless, even in the face of criticisms of judicial regulation existing at the time, recommended that the decisions as to whether a rate is fair or not should be left to an independent tribunal like a law court, and that every rate should be reasonable in itself, and "as far as possible" reasonable as compared with other rates for the same traffic elsewhere. They made the important point that unless decisions as to reasonableness were left to such a judicial tribunal " a Government railway authority is forced to adhere to a rigid system of rates." Unfortunately, however, even this last half-hearted reference to the need for creating adequate machinery to ensure that the future railway system of the Union would in actual fact be administered in the independent and flexible manner which those of the members of the Convention who were informed about these matters desired, was not acted upon.

The Act of Union proceeded to enunciate certain very general principles, and concerned itself as little as possible either with technical questions or with how even the vague general principles it laid down were to be carried out.

The South Africa Act provided that :

(1) " Subject to the authority of the Governor-General-in-Council, the control and management of the railways, ports and harbours of the Union shall be exercised through a board

consisting of not more than three commissioners, who shall be appointed by the Governor-General-in-Council, and a minister of State, who shall be chairman."

But it contained no express provision as to the manner in which the board should function, as to its relation to the Minister of Railways, as to the qualifications of the members, as to the time they were to hold office, as to the manner in which they were to be retired, or as to the means by which the board was to enforce its decisions should the Minister and the Cabinet differ from its views, or the policy it saw fit to adopt.

(2) "The railways, ports, and harbours of the Union shall be administered on business principles, due regard being had to agricultural and industrial development within the Union and promotion, by means of cheap transport, of the settlement of an agricultural and industrial population in the inland portions of all provinces of the Union."

But it contained no definition of what was meant by "business principles," no indication as to who was to ensure or decide that they were indeed being followed and were resulting in "cheap transport," and no machinery by means of which complaints could be made that they were being violated. It said nothing as to whether the cheap transport should be for all or only for some, in other words whether or not rates should be reasonable and just in themselves and in relation to other rates. It did not indicate

whether the rates should be controlled and adjudicated upon, or whether they were to be left to the arbitrary discretion of a handful of rates clerks whose qualifications no one knows. It said nothing of the service the railways were to give, whether it was to be reasonably in accordance with the demands of railway users, or whether it was to suit the pace, efficiency, and convenience of the railway officers who might condescend to provide it.

(3) " So far as may be, the total earnings shall be not more than are sufficient to meet the necessary outlays for working, maintenance, betterment, depreciation, and the payment of interest due on capital not being capital contributed out of Railway or Harbour Revenues, . . ."

But failed most lamentably to realize, what for twenty years the railway users of this country have as a result paid most dearly for, that, where there is no incentive to keep expenditure within efficient limits, the revenues needed to fill the holes made in the railway's receipts by mediocre uninterested management, wasteful administration and uneconomic policy may exceed many times any profits that might have been earned by a private company working efficiently and on up-to-date principles. The Act of Union contains no machinery by which such efficiency can be ensured. On the contrary, as it stands it was almost bound to create a paradise of bureaucratic inefficiency ; for it limited neither the height of the charges the railways were allowed to

make nor the height of the sums they were allowed to spend.

There can be no doubt that the framers of the Act of Union intended that the board which they created for "the control and management of the railways, ports and harbours of the Union" was to be that independent railway commission which had been urged continually by various Colonial Commissions, and by the Memorandum they had before them. There can also be no doubt that they relied on subsequent legislation being passed by Parliament, in the spirit of the South Africa Act, to give effect to the principles they outlined.

The ink of the Constitution was not dry before it became apparent that the Minister of Railways, and the first Union Government, had no intention of working in either the spirit or even in the letter of the Act of Union, as far as the administration of the Railways and Harbours was concerned.

As the writer has described elsewhere[1], for some years the first Railway Commissioners put up a quite ineffectual fight against the Minister of Railways and Harbours in attempting to get him to carry out the Act of Union, and to make the board that independent, controlling body which had been intended. Their unselfish efforts proved futile. In 1916 the sorry farce was ended by the Railway Board Act, by which the board became a mere advisory body to the Minister. That its advice would be acceptable to him at all times

[1] See *The Railway Policy of South Africa.* Johannesburg. 1929.

was, as is well known, further ensured by exercising due care that the members of the board would either be absolutely unversed in railway matters, or of the same political complexion as the Minister himself.

It is hardly necessary to add that this Act, by means of which practically all the intentions of the South Africa Act were shattered in so far as transport was concerned, was the only one which made any further provision as to the control, management, and policy of the Railways and Harbours.

So it has come about that none of the essential machinery to ensure efficient, cheap, adequate, or justly and reasonably priced transport has been provided in the Union. So also have the two remaining sections of the South Africa Act which were intended to ensure that no railway lines should be built, and no services conducted at the expense of the railways, which an independent board acting conscientiously on commercial principles could not recommend, in practice remained a dead letter.

The results to the Union are well known ; some of them have been outlined by the writer in the publication previously referred to. They may be summarized as follows :—

A railway system comprising over 12,000 route miles of railway, over 10,000 miles of road transport services, handling over 26,000,000 tons of traffic per annum, and earning a revenue of over £26,000,000, and with a staff of over 100,000 employees, is for all practical purposes under the sole control of a Minister

of Railways, and the Cabinet. Neither the Minister nor the Cabinet are experts in transport matters. The advisory Railways and Harbours Board is ordinarily composed of elderly retired politicians, farmers, or others whose advice is no more expert than that of any other body of men picked at random from among those who have failed to be conspicuously successful in other walks of life. This huge system, it can be stated without fear of contradicition, is run according to outworn principles of accounting, costing, and rate-making, which have varied little if at all since 1910. It is a system which, as far as organization, administration and management are concerned, has largely developed in isolated ignorance of vast changes that have occurred in these matters on progressive railway systems in other countries. The enormous staff of this bureaucratic machine is remunerated according to hide-bound civil-service standards, and at the bottom of the scale is used as a dumping ground for those who are relatively unfit, while it exploits at rates of pay far below what they would be able to command in commercial life those who are in technical executive positions at the top. The technical and managing executives are continually interfered with in matters of railway management, be it in decisions of raising and spending capital, in rate-making, in new construction projects, in improving service, or the hundred and one other matters incidental to the administration of an industrial enterprise, by the whims of the Minister and the party in power. The

system is used as a means of protection to some industries and communities, and as a means of taxing other industries and sections of the public. None of its actions in rate-making, questions of service, or administration can be seriously challenged in any other manner than by political agitation. In Parliament complaints which are unsympathetic to the party in power remain unremedied, while more often than not Select Committees charged with watching the actions of this State Department are fobbed off with excuses, incomplete statistics, or fairy tales, which only experts with much time at their disposal and long experience could detect and contradict.

The system is burdened with a large number of unjustified gratuitous or partly gratuitous services and uneconomic policies. The *esprit de corps* and independent initiative of its servants have been undermined by political intrigues and by the uneconomic and unbusinesslike standards which have been adopted. As a result the expenditure on the system is heavily inflated, the general level of rates and charges much higher than it should be, many services inadequate, and many particular rates arbitrary, burdensome and unjustified.

It is frequently not realized that transportation affects in some manner practically all productive processes in the modern economic organization because it is itself a most important phase of those processes. There are few commodities in everyday use the final price of which is not largely made up of services

rendered by transport organizations. For example, the function of the mining industry is largely the transportation of coal from the coal face to the pit head, and the railway carries it from the pit head to the factory. Similarly it is through efficient transportation that a multitude of different raw materials can be assembled economically in one place for combination into manufactured products. Above all it is through efficient transportation that the beneficial process (referred to in Chapter II. of this section) of specialization through international trade, and the advantages accruing therefrom, arise. Similarly it is through the opening up of new areas, or through the increased speed and lower costs of transportation between points already connected by a transportation route, that distant resources are brought into use which, notwithstanding the costs of transport they have to bear in order to enter the consuming markets, are cheaper than the old resources which could alone be used before ; thus an increasing part of a nation's and of the world's productive efforts are directed to providing transportation. These beneficial developments are retarded by anything which increases the real costs of, or which slows up, the transportation mechanism; moreover, the real costs of existing production may be increased and the existing standard of living of the community lowered. Every increase in the cost of transportation is paid for by the community, whether or not the increased burden is immediately discernible. Sometimes the burden is not visible merely because

it exerts its influence by preventing a decline in the cost of living and an increase in productivity and welfare which might otherwise have been brought about. The far-reaching effect that increased efficiency in, and lower costs of, transportation have on the national economy can be gauged from the extract from President Hoover's report on "Recent Economic Changes in the United States" given in the footnote below.[1]

Railway transport will always in South Africa, with its lack of navigable rivers, occupy a position of prime importance. Owing to its technical complexity the railway industry can only be administered successfully on the principles that govern the administration of other large-scale industrial enterprises; it is a particularly good example of those tasks which cannot be included directly under the Agenda of Government, yet are so important that they dare not be abandoned as outside of that Agenda altogether. Quite apart even from the dangers of political interference and abuses,

[1] (Page 308.) "From the public point of view, the outstanding railway development since the war has been the marked improvement in transportation service. The adequacy, speed, and dependability in freight movement have never been better. The improvement is seen in freedom from car shortages, embargoes, and other restrictions, and in close adherence to scheduled transit times. The number of scheduled fast freight trains has been increased and the speed bettered so as to give earlier deliveries at destination. Incidental services have been extended, and throughout the whole service there is greater effort to apply modern merchandising principles in the development and sale of transportation. The regularity of movement and dependability in rail service have given impetus to the general practice among manufacturers and merchants of carrying smaller inventories of raw materials and merchandise. Better rail service cannot be credited wholly with this economic development, but it called attention to the possibilities and led to the general movement. Certain it is that the smaller stocks would not afford adequate protection, were rail service less prompt and reliable. The general reductions in inventories have released sums of capital which in the aggregate are enormous, and in buying habits have brought about profound changes which are far-reaching in their economic effects."

a railway, therefore, cannot be administered successfully on the principles suitable to a government department. Moreover, there is no half-way house between the management of railways owned by the State merely as a State Department and their management on business principles. Under the first system all matters of expenditure and policy are decided in the same manner as the allocation of revenues *received* from taxation: under the second they have to be decided in the light of carefully planned productive expenditure judged by its capacity to *earn* revenue. Ten years ago a special Indian Railway Committee urged a similar point of view, when it pointed out that the railways of India could not be modernized, improved and enlarged, and made to give the public the return they were entitled to expect, unless the financial methods were radically reformed so as to free what was a commercial enterprise from the dominance of the Treasury, and " from the trammels of system which assumes that the concern goes out of business on each 31st March and recommences *de novo* on the 1st April."

In recent years the same point has been emphasized repeatedly by experts of the highest standing throughout the world. In the reorganisation of the Canadian National Railways as an independent Company, owned by the State, in the re-constitution of the Australian State Railways, in the handing over to a separate company of the German Railways, in the constitution of the Autonomous Roumanian Railways Corporation, and this year in the report of the New Zealand Rail-

way Commission, paramount stress has been laid on the administration of these enterprises on commercial principles, divorced from government interference, and freed from the unsuitable methods of government departments.

In the control of industries of the nature of the railway industry " progress lies," as Mr. Keynes puts it, " in the growth and recognition of semi-autonomous bodies within the State, bodies whose criterion of action within their own field is solely the public good as they understand it, and from whose deliberations motives of private advantage are excluded—bodies which in the ordinary course of affairs are mainly autonomous within their prescribed limitations, but are subject in the last resort to the sovereignty of the democracy expressed through Parliament."

We have in South Africa not yet learnt the enormous importance of such an outlook. We cling in this matter perhaps more than in others to outworn concepts of the past. We do not realize the importance of using every part of the economic organism for the functions which it is by its nature suited to fulfil. Rather do we tend to pervert these individual economic structures to uses which are foreign to them and by which their own rhythmic and harmonious working is jolted, interrupted, and made inefficient. Thus, for example, only recently it was made known that the directors of the South African Iron and Steel Industry, which should, assuming that its foundation by the State was a correct policy, have been made a

secure autonomous body, and which many were led to believe had been so constituted, were being urged by a Minister to adopt a labour policy which was entirely unconnected with the functions for which the industry was called into being. The directors apparently declined to act in the manner suggested, which was clearly beyond, and detrimental to, their economic functions. As a result the Minister made a public statement to the effect that this kind of decision would not be allowed to occur again. The matter is mentioned here merely in illustration, for it throws two points into clear relief: (1) the importance of leaving the control of such enterprises to experts trained for the purpose, and (2) of constituting semi-public enterprises in such a way that autocratic ministerial interference in the policy to be adopted by the enterprise will not be possible.

It is indeed a most unfortunate indication of the die-hard influences which dominate our administrative outlook, that so recent an Act as that constituting the Iron and Steel Industry should illustrate clearly that those responsible have learnt nothing and forgotten nothing since the Act of Union. The Iron and Steel Industry Act, though apparently most liberal, in fact makes identically the same mistakes, and contains the same reservation of most autocratic powers for the Minister, as the clauses creating the South African Railways and Harbours Administration. There are no real safeguards in the Act to prevent the majority of the directors of this potentially huge industry

being degraded in a few years to the same subservient position as the ill-fated Railways and Harbours Board.

We are strongly of the opinion that the present railway muddle in South Africa must, and can only, be cured by methods which make a radical break with the practice of the past. We feel that it is particularly in this all-pervading industry that the first efforts should be made to apply the new economic policy of increasing the productive capacity, and improving the working conditions of the country, the need for which we have outlined in a previous chapter. Moreover, the matter is one of urgency. All over the world it is clear that the railway industry of the future will be radically different from that of the past. If complete use is to be made of the new forms of transport by road (with which we deal below) the railways will have to adapt themselves to them. In order to do so they must have a flexible form of organization and control, and their policy must be guided by imagination and vision. They must eliminate many of the traditional services of the past and concentrate on others, such as express long-distance traffic, which fit into the new scheme of things developing before their eyes. They must cut, once and for all, their own and the country's losses, through the investment of capital (*e.g.*, in branch railway lines) which no longer serves economic purposes commensurate with its cost. At the same time they must incur much new capital

expenditure in order to bring about those savings in working without which the re-organization and reduction of transport costs which are necessary will not be possible. Above all they must realize that it is of no advantage to the country if they retain traffic by methods which obstruct new development rather than by those which stimulate it.

We are of the opinion that the flexible, efficient, and independent control necessary to bring about the changes outlined above can only be obtained if a renewed attempt is made to carry out the aim of the National Convention that the railways should be managed by a body separated from the influence of the Government of the day. We feel strongly that the experience of the last twenty years in our own country, as well as that in many others, has proved beyond doubt that the administration of enterprises like the railways by a board which, though nominally independent, is in fact under the influence of a Minister of State, is in practice unworkable. Similarly it has become clear that the mere formal separation of the Railway Budget from the general Budget of the country is insufficient, especially if Parliament has to decide annually on the capital expenditures of the enterprise.

We recommend therefore :

(1) That the South African Railways and Harbours cease to be managed by the State, under the present system of a Minister of Railways and a Railways and Harbours Board ;

(2) that a Board of Trustees be constituted by Act of Parliament and incorporated as "The South African Railways and Harbours Company," and that the Trustees be directors of the company;

(3) that the ownership of the South African Railways and Harbours be vested in this company;

(4) that all matters of policy, of finance, of raising and of repayment of capital, of the service of the debts of the company and of working conditions connected with the operation of the Railways and Harbours be decided by the directors alone;

(5) that it be decided before the incorporation of the Company what amount of debt is to be regarded as Railway and Harbours debt, and to what extent, and in what manner the Government assume responsibility to the company for such debt, and to what extent, if any, the Government assume responsibility to the company for any securities, shares or debentures issued or to be issued by it.

The trustees might be nine in number. The first trustees should be named in the Act of Parliament constituting the board. Only five of the trustees should be full-time members of the directorate of the company. They should be most carefully chosen, since it is particularly by the choice of those unsuited to the tasks allotted to them that this country has suffered at the hands of previous and existing public bodies.

Three of these trustees should be men of considerable railway experience, of whom one should occupy the position of General Manager and be the President of the company. The two remaining full-time trustees might be high officials of the company, and might occupy the position of Vice-Presidents. One of these latter should be selected on the grounds of business experience and of an intimate acquaintance with the economic needs of the country generally. The other should be selected on the grounds of wide financial experience. Their salaries should be fixed on commercial scales so as to command the best men. Of the four remaining trustees one should be selected to represent the Council of Economic Affairs, one should be elected by the Council of Industry, one should be appointed as specially possessing the confidence of railway employees, and one to represent the Government. These should be regarded as assessor members of the board of directors. No trustee should have any financial interest in the company other than his salary, and should have no other interest that conflicts with his duty as trustee.

All full-time appointments to the board other than those of the original trustees, which should be appointed for varying periods so as to permit of rotation, should be for a fixed period of seven years. The assessor members should be appointed for varying lesser periods.

We wish to lay stress upon the fact that the board should be self-perpetuating and permanent. That is

to say, none of the members should feel that their re-appointment depends upon the good-will of the Cabinet or Government in power. We recommend therefore that vacancies should be filled, in the case of a full-time member, by appointment by the Governor-General-in-Council, on the nomination of a majority of the remaining trustees, and in the case of other members by appointment, from a list of three names similarly nominated by the majority of the remaining trustees. Should the Government refuse to approve a nomination, it should devolve upon the trustees to submit a new name.

If any trustee should lose, resign, or vacate the position of office, or qualification in virtue of which he was especially appointed a trustee, his trusteeship should automatically cease. In all other respects the tenure of office of the trustees should be the same as Judges of the Supreme Court. In order to secure that influence and control of Parliament which we have indicated is desirable in the constitution of semi-autonomous bodies such as the South African Railways and Harbours Company, the Act or Charter incorporating the company should lay down clearly, and in such detail as is thought desirable, the policy to be pursued by the company. It would therefore define, as in the South Africa Act, the profits, if any, to be allowed. It should certainly contain provisions (as already mooted in the Selborne Memorandum) that the rates charged by the company shall be (*a*) reasonable and (*b*) just. Every unreasonable or unjust rate,

and every rate which grants an undue preference to any one person (or group of persons) or to any locality, or industry (or group of industries) should be prohibited. These provisions should be similar to those of the famous Interstate Commerce Act. They should be administered by the Judicial Transportation Tribunal or Commission mentioned later in this chapter.

The Act of Incorporation should also contain provisions enabling the company to enter into agreements with the Government, or any State Department, under which special rates are charged, or special lines are built for developmental purposes, and under which the company would receive payment from these bodies for undertaking such functions as it deems beyond its sphere of action. The Act should lay down clearly the powers of the company in these matters, and should restrict its functions in regard to special rates, gratuitous services or uneconomic policies granted for other than railway purposes, unless losses occurring therefrom be refunded to it.

The nominal share capital of the company should be registered as held in the joint names of each particular trustee and the Minister of Finance for the time being. The trustee should exercise the voting power in the company. The Act of Incorporation would provide that no share could be transferred except to a duly appointed trustee and that the shares are held in trust for the Union of South Africa.

We have dealt at length with the manner in which the Railways and Harbours of the Union should be

constituted an autonomous public body within the State, both because we are of opinion that therein lies the crux of the future success of this large-scale enterprise, and because we believe that without the re-constitution of the railway industry on an efficient basis it is impossible to bring about the correct and economic correlation between road motor transport and the older transport industry which is most necessary.

Before proceeding to consider the road motor transport industry in this connection, we wish to lay emphasis on the fact that we are of the opinion that prior to the re-constitution of the South African Railways and Harbours as suggested above there should be a very complete expert inquiry, under the chairmanship of an overseas, preferably an American, railway expert of high standing, into the working, finance, internal management, rates classification and policy, of the Railways and Harbours. This committee of experts should take such public evidence as it sees fit, particularly on questions of external and rates policy, and it should also concern itself with matters relating to the internal management of the railways. It should make very complete recommendations as to how the efficiency and the service of the railways can be improved, and the cost of railway transport lowered. Its recommendations should serve as a guide to the directors of the new South African Railways and Harbours Company.

Road motor transport should be regard
other new invention or mechanical develop
is found more convenient, or is preferr
sumers, or is more economical than the exi
of fulfilling consumers' transport wants. A
of the recent propaganda carried on, both
through its railway reports and even by
political speechmaking to members of its s
Railway Administration, about the danger
tion of road transport has been either absol
the point or due to sheer ignorance of th
principles underlying the problem. Those

comparing the adequacy, the efficiency, the convenience, the popularity, and the cost of available transport service (say by rail) and that of other or additional service which is or can be provided by road motor transport. It will therefore be apparent that if road motor transport is to be economically correlated with rail transport, if their relative costs, economies and conveniences are to be fairly compared, if each is to fulfil those functions which it really is in the national economic interest that it should assume, if both are to continue to develop along the lines most serviceable to the community, then the decisions as to the relative spheres to be occupied by each must be made by men who have jurisdiction over both transport industries, and who have an intimate expert knowledge of the economic capacities of each. They must be able to discern whether either the costs of the one (say the railways) or of the other (say the road motor services) are being swollen by inefficiency or reduced by hidden subsidies (as when the road motor vehicle is not bearing its fair share of the cost of road construction and maintenance). Moreover, such men must be able to weigh up relative advantages and disadvantages of different types of transport which are not easily expressed in costs and figures. Above all, they must be able to make their decisions most impartially.

It is for these reasons that, although we welcome the recent legislation contained in the Motor Carrier Transportation Act (No. 39 of 1930) as an attempt to grapple with a vital problem, we deprecate the fact that

the attempt has been marred by provisions inspired by the autocratic and outworn traditions of Cabinet interference, to which we have already referred. The Act in establishing a Road Board and local Road Boards with very wide powers (of which one is to issue licences for motor carriers and to determine transport routes) has left the appointments of the members of the Central Road Board, which should be a highly expert body, entirely to the Cabinet. It has made the Board as subservient to the Government as possible by providing that the members shall be appointed " for such period and on such conditions as the Governor-General may determine when making such appointment." It contains no provision as to the qualification of members. Nevertheless, it makes the power of the Board absolute. True, an appeal lies from the Local Boards to the Central Road Board, but there is no right of appeal from the Central Road Board to a judicial body. There is much play in certain sections of the Act with the words "reasonable charges," "efficient service," etc. Presumably, however, the members of the Board, as to whose expert knowledge and competence there are no safeguards, will alone determine the meaning of such provisions, and will of course in practice act in accordance with the wishes of the Cabinet. Similarly, there is nothing to enforce that the members of the Local Boards who will actually issue licences, etc., in the first instance, will have the necessary expert knowledge, and will not merely be swayed by local interests and jealousies. Most impor-

tant of all, the Boards have no jurisdiction over the reasonableness or adequacy of service and charges of the railways, although they are entrusted to take into consideration, in considering applications for motor carrier certificates, " the transportation requirements of the public in the area wherein . . . the applicant proposes to operate, and the question whether those requirements are or can be satisfactorily met by other transportation facilities . . . and the question . . whether the transportation to which the applicant relates will adversely affect or assist any other transportation facilities and whether it can be co-ordinated therewith in a manner which is economically sound and advantageous to the public."

Railway working, charges, reasonableness of service, etc., present questions of great intricacy, and how they are to be decided upon by a multitude of Boards, whose members are not experts in these matters, is a question that the Act conveniently does not answer. It is of particular interest that the report of the recent Road Transportation Commission clearly indicated that mere legislative provisions for regulation would be of no avail unless experts could determine impartially how it was to be carried out. We are strongly of the opinion that the Central Road Board should be enlarged, and made independent of political and ministerial interference, and composed of transportation experts assisted by assessors representing the industrial and commercial community. The local Boards should be restricted in their powers to carrying out the policy laid down

by the Central Board. We attach special importance to the fact that an appeal should lie from the Central Road Board to the Judicial Transportation Tribunal or Commission (to which we refer later), which latter should have the same powers over it as over the Railways and Harbours. Lastly, we feel that the Road Board should, as strongly recommended by the Road Transportation Commission,[1] be assisted by an expert independent body to plan a national road system, to deal with the construction and maintenance of the same, and to administer a special Road Fund created for the purpose. We suggest that into the Road Fund should be paid (1) the proceeds of all direct and indirect taxation on road vehicles, spare parts, and accessories, as well as all taxation on the fuels used by such vehicles ; and (2) such other loan or revenue funds as Parliament may from time to time direct.

The functions of the Judicial Transportation Tribunal or Commission, which we have suggested, should be (1) to adjudicate upon all appeals relating to the regulation, co-ordination licensing of, the rates charged by, and the adequacy of services of, road motor carriers ; (2) to hear appeals from any member of the public, or any group of persons, or any company or business, as to the reasonableness of any rate, or charge, or fare or classification, or the adequacy of any service, rendered by the Railways

[1] This and many other important and valuable recommendations of the Road Transportation Commission have been simply ignored by those responsible for the Motor Carrier Transportation Act.

and Harbours Company, or any other railway undertaking, or any motor transport carrier, and to hear any complaint relative to the conditions of any service rendered by any common carrier by road or rail. After receiving such application or complaint the Tribunal shall take evidence, and shall decide whether such rates or services are reasonable or adequate, and if they are not reasonable to order that they be altered, in any manner the Tribunal may indicate. The Tribunal shall have power of its own accord, and on its own initiative, to investigate the reasonableness or adequacy of any rates or services, and if necessary to cause their alteration.

At the same time we look forward to the voluntary development of local advisory transportation committees, consisting of representatives of the transportation interests and of the users of transport, to confer on matters of common interest and so prevent unnecessary misunderstanding or litigation.

In conclusion, we are of the opinion that the present Ministry of Railways and Harbours be converted into a Ministry of Transport and Communications. It shall be the duty of the Ministry to control the carrying out of all Acts and regulations relative to transportation or communications, and to order the preparation of such, and to receive adequate and uniform accounts and reports in regard thereto, and to advise the Government on any matter appertaining to transportation and communication.

We are of the opinion that the machinery for transportation management and control which we have outlined in this chapter will lead, in so far as it is conscientiously entrusted to those who by training, experience, and independence of character are fitted to carry out the functions for which they are appointed, to a new era of transport development in the Union. It should make for flexibility and progress, and should serve as a model for the management of other public utilities or semi-public enterprises.

SECTION III.

ADMINISTRATIVE.

Chapter I.

PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

By Jan H. Hofmeyr.

The attention of the student of the institutions of any country will ordinarily be drawn first by its system of national government. But most of its citizens have in actual fact a far more direct and personal interest in the functioning of those subordinate organs of government which deal with the administration of local affairs. The life of the average man is touched more nearly by the manner in which local problems are dealt with than by most of the issues to which Parliament directs its attention. And in fact the health of the body politic depends very largely upon the healthy functioning of its less conspicuous members. In this chapter it is the functioning of the less conspicuous members of the South African body politic that will receive attention.

First we must analyse the position as it exists to-day, setting forth the legislative provision which has been made in South Africa for the establishment of instruments of government subordinate to Parliament, and then proceeding to examine the soundness of the functioning of these instruments. It is natural to commence with the Act of Union. Section 70 states

that there shall be a Provincial Council in each Province. Section 93 safeguards all the powers and functions lawfully exercised at the commencement of the Act by any duly constituted local authority. Furthermore, there is mentioned in Section 85, as one of the matters falling within the legislative competence of the Provincial Councils, "municipal institutions, divisional councils, and other local institutions of a like nature." The Act of Union, therefore, created Provincial Councils; it recognised the existence by virtue of prior laws of authorities of a more strictly local character; and it left their supervision, development, and extension in the hands of the Provincial Councils which it established.

The provincial system represents perhaps the most distinctive feature of the South African constitution—it merits careful study. The Union of South Africa is divided into four Provinces, which are geographically coincident with the four Colonies out of which the Union was formed. There is provision in the constitution for the adjustment of provincial boundaries, but it is a provision which cannot easily be given effect to. In each of the Provinces there has been established a provincial legislature—the Provincial Council. In the case of the Transvaal and the Cape, the Provincial Councils have as many members as there are members of the Legislative Assembly from those Provinces, and the constituencies are the same for parliamentary and for provincial elections. In Natal and the Orange Free State the membership of the Councils is at the

minimum of 25, and for as long as the representation of these Provinces in the Assembly falls below that number the minimum will apply. The Provincial Councils are quite definitely not sovereign legislatures. Their powers of law-making are specifically prescribed. They are set forth in Section 85 of the Act of Union, together with a provision that Parliament may delegate additional powers of law-making. But even within this limited sphere of their competence they are not supreme. In Section 86 it is stated that any Ordinance made by a Provincial Council shall have effect as long and as far only as it is not repugnant to any Act of Parliament. That section which was described by Lord de Villiers as " the keystone to the new constitution " puts it beyond all doubt that the constitution of the Union is not a federal constitution. Keith has described the position in these words: " The Union Parliament can legislate in any case on the same topics as the Provincial Council, and such legislation is paramount, and the Councils are at once placed in a hopeless state of inferiority as compared with the Canadian Provinces or the Australian States."

In each Province there is an Executive Committee, consisting of the Administrator, who is appointed by the Union Government, and of four members elected by the Provincial Council. In general conception the Executive Committee is the Provincial Cabinet, but there are important differences. The Executive Committee has no collective responsibility. The Administrator is an officer external to the Provincial

Council, from which the other members are chosen, and they in their turn are elected on a system of proportional representation, which strikes at the root of the homogeneity of the Committee's composition. Moreover, the Executive Committee is not responsible to the Provincial Council. The Administrator is entirely independent of it, the other members are elected by it, but, once elected, they hold office for the whole three years' term of the Council's life. Their resignation cannot be enforced by a hostile vote, and they in their turn cannot dissolve the Council and appeal to the electorate.

Even more peculiar from the constitutional point of view is the position of the Administrator. He is at once the chief executive officer of the Province and the representative of the Union Government, on whose behalf he may be called upon to act in matters not delegated to the Provincial Council. In general, his position in relation to the Province is conceived in the constitution as being similar to that of the Governor-General in relation to the Union. The Governor-General administers the executive government of the Union ; the Administrator is the chief executive officer of the Province. The Governor-General summons and prorogues Parliament, the Administrator summons and prorogues the Provincial Council. Neither is responsible to the legislature with which he is associated. But there are also important points of difference. The Administrator is the Chairman of the Executive Committee, the Provincial Cabinet, which, it would

seem, cannot function without him or his deputy. He actually sits in the Provincial Council, with all the privileges of membership save that of voting, being, in fact, in relation to the Province virtually Prime Minister as well as Governor-General; and it is also provided that no ordinance involving expenditure shall be passed without his personal recommendation, in regard to which he is not called upon to consult his Cabinet. The Administrator of the Province therefore comes into far closer contact with the details of administration than does the Governor-General, and he has powers in regard to its financial affairs, which he exercises at his own discretion, and not on the advice of his Executive Committee, and which the Governor-General has not got.

It will not be without its value to set forth what appear to be the reasons for these differences. First, there is the lack of homogeneity in the Executive Committee, which makes it necessary to provide for that body an impartial chairman. But also there is the consideration that, since the Provincial Councils, although they have considerable legislative powers, are still contemplated as subordinate to the Parliament of the Union, it is important, in order to avoid undue friction, to ensure that the interests of the Union as a whole shall receive due consideration when Provincial legislation is under discussion. In particular there must be a safeguard against the possibility of Provincial financial maladministration embarrassing the finances of the Union.

It follows then that the Administrator was not intended by the framers of the constitution to act as a party politician. It is true that he has in fact sometimes done so. That has resulted, perhaps inevitably, from the fact that Administrators have hitherto for the most part been recruited from the ranks of party politicians, but to that extent the conception of the Act has been stultified. But in the constitution itself that conception is consistently set forth, and in accordance therewith the Administrator is in effect made independent of changes of government in the Union.

So much for the position of the Provinces, viewed from the constitutional aspect. On the administrative side it may be said that there are in the Union four Provincial Administrations, each of them virtually a department of state, limited geographically. Their officers form part of the Union Public Service, and are freely transferable to and from other branches of the Public Service. They stand in the same relation to the Public Services Commission as does any other department. They avail themselves freely of the services of the Union departments, as, for instance, the Public Works Department. Their functions are to administer within their respective Provinces those branches of state activity which fall within the legislative competence of the Provincial Councils. Those branches, of which the chief are Education other than higher, Roads and Bridges, Hospitals and charitable institutions, and Local Government, are set forth in Section 85 of the Act of Union, supplemented by the

Financial Relations Act of 1913 in pursuance of the power given to Parliament to assign additional functions. But on this point the framers of the constitution left certain points in a position of uncertainty. They included in the list in Section 85 " Education other than higher, for a period of five years, and thereafter until Parliament otherwise provides," and also " Agriculture to the extent and subject to the conditions to be defined by Parliament." But " Education other than higher " is still after twenty years a provincial function, and Parliament has never yet defined the extent to which Agriculture shall be dealt with by the Provincial Administrations.

On the financial side the basic principle of the provincial system is that the Councils appropriate moneys for the due discharge of the services entrusted to them, deriving such moneys from revenues raised by or accruing to them, and from moneys voted as subsidies by Parliament. With regard to capital services the framers of the constitution contemplated that the Provincial Councils should raise loans on their own credit, and with that intent included in the list of their powers, " the borrowing of money on the sole credit of the Province with the consent of the Governor-General-in-Council, and in accordance with regulations to be framed by Parliament." But successive Ministers of Finance, holding that the raising of loans by the Provinces might affect detrimentally the credit of the Union, have refrained from making these regulations,

and the Provinces are therefore dependent for their capital funds on appropriations made by Parliament.

Current expenditure the Provinces meet from three sources. First there are certain assigned and transferred revenues, the proceeds of taxation imposed by Union or pre-Union statute and paid over to the Provinces. Then there are the proceeds of taxation imposed by the Councils themselves. Until 1925 the Provinces enjoyed, in terms of the Act of Union, the power of imposing direct taxation. But the old difficulty of discriminating between direct and indirect taxation led to endless litigation, and eventually Parliament withdrew the power from the Provinces, and instead enacted a specific list of forms of taxation which they might impose. Of these the chief are: taxes on persons and incomes, taxes on companies, taxes on the ownership of immovable property, taxes on entertainments, taxes on betting, wheel taxes, and taxes on motor vehicles. Finally there are the subsidies which Parliament votes annually to the Provinces. In the first adjustment of financial relations, it was fixed on the basis of one-half of the expenditure of the several Provinces, with an additional £100,000 each to the Free State and Natal. It was found, however, that this system lent itself to the rapid and inadequately controlled growth of expenditure, and, after various attempts had been made to check the increase of the subsidies, a new system was devised. In terms of this system the Provinces at present receive subsidies which are designed to cover what is held to be the

reasonable cost of education in each case. But Natal and the Free State still enjoy differential treatment, to the extent of £75,000 in each case. On the basis of subsidy referred to, the two larger Provinces in actual fact received in the year 1929–30 roughly 50 per cent. of their revenues from the Union Treasury. In the case of Natal the proportion was 44 per cent., of the Free State 60 per cent. Of the balance rather more than two-thirds came from taxation imposed by the Provinces and (at the Cape) Divisional Councils, and rather less than one-third from assigned and transferred revenues.

So much for the Provincial Councils. What of the subordinate organs of local government? In this respect the establishment of Provincial Councils by the Act of Union left the position as it was at Union practically unchanged. The organs of local self-government then in being remained in existence, the only change being that the powers of supervision and control previously exercised in respect of them by the four Colonial Governments were passed on to the four Provincial Administrations. Twenty years of provincial control have had but little effect on the essentials of the pre-Union system of local government. Perhaps the chief reproach which can be levelled at the Provincial Councils to-day is in respect of their failure to do more to develop local government in South Africa. Apart from the natural expansion of systems, the foundations of which had been laid before Union, small advances have been made in some of the

Provinces in the application of the principles of local responsibility and local initiative, but to some extent these advances have been counter-balanced by actual retrogressions in other cases. In the Cape Province, for instance, the School Boards, which at the time of Union had considerable financial powers, including the fixing of the salaries of teachers, and of the rates of school fees, and the levying through the Divisional Councils of a small rate on property, are now purely advisory bodies, while in that Province also there has been evidenced a tendency towards centralized control over the exercise of their functions by the local authorities. Even so, the Cape is still the most advanced of the Provinces in the matter of local government. But the gap has been narrowed, partly because the Cape itself has fallen back, partly because of certain small advances which other Provinces have made.

As far as the administration of the affairs of urban communities is concerned, the position in South Africa may be described as generally satisfactory, and the provincial legislation bearing on the subject compares favourably with that in other countries. The system varies in matters of detail from Province to Province, but in the main features there is reasonable uniformity. In each Province the system is such as to deal adequately with all areas thickly populated enough to require some form of municipal government. The powers granted to the local bodies in each case are carefully graduated according to their needs and capacity to exercise them. In some of the Provinces there has been a tendency

to experiment with new ideas of local government, and, though the experiments have usually been short-lived, the experience gained has been valuable. One such innovation which might have been regarded as an experiment in the first instance, the introduction in the Transvaal of a rating system which very definitely encouraged the levying of at least the bulk of the municipal rates on site values, has worked well, and is now definitely established in that Province, while other Provinces have made advances towards the same system. So far, however, municipal government by commission and other similar systems have been steadfastly rejected. In its main essentials the system of government by elective councils has been found to work well enough to prevent any movement for so radical a change from acquiring much strength and momentum.

But the position in respect of rural local self-government is far less satisfactory. The Cape Province, it is true, apart from the territories where there are Native Councils, is divided into areas administered by Divisional Councils, which have powers of rating and of imposing taxation on dogs, and on vehicles other than motor vehicles, and which deal with such matters as the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges, public health, and the eradication of noxious weeds. The revenues raised by these Divisional Councils amount to over half a million a year. But in the other Provinces no such system applies. Outside of the municipal areas there is no effective local

government. In the Transvaal and the Free State there are School Boards and Road Boards, but these have merely advisory powers; Natal has not even advanced to this length. Most of the area of these Provinces is therefore administered in effect from their capitals by the provincial governments, and for the inhabitants of rural areas there is no means of meeting local needs, save the invocation of the machinery of those governments. In the words of the Transvaal Local Government Commission, which reported in 1922, "Crossing a municipal boundary means leaving an area where co-operation secures many of the good things of the world for the inhabitants, and especially for those who are comparatively unable to fend for themselves. In the area outside the limits of a municipality such co-operation is generally absent, and there, within the broad limits of the law of the land, each person is left to struggle for himself."

This absence of the organs of rural local self-government in the Northern Provinces is largely due to the opposition evinced to any suggestion which implies the taxation of the land. At the Cape the Divisional Councils with their powers of local taxation enjoy an established position because of their three-quarters of a century of history. But elsewhere in the Union the principle of the taxation of agricultural land has never been given effect to. And on that rock all attempts to create organs of local government outside the towns with some measure of financial responsibility have suffered shipwreck. That was the fate also of a

proposal made in recent years in the Transvaal Provincial Council to reconstitute the (at present) nominated Road Boards on an elective basis, with powers to apply to local roads in their districts the proceeds of a permissive wheel tax, although a guarantee was given that there would be no reduction in the provincial appropriation for roads. One effective advance only in the establishment of the principle of local responsibility and local control has been made in recent years, by the replacement in the Transvaal of the advisory Hospital Committees by Hospital Boards controlling, with full financial responsibility, state-aided hospitals. These Hospital Boards have, however, no rating powers, and the reform can in any case not be said to affect the rural areas.

On the basis of the foregoing analysis of the present position, the weaknesses which prevail to-day in the sphere of provincial and local government can now be set forth. One will, indeed, be obvious enough—the entire inadequacy of the system of rural local self-government, with the consequent absence of suitable facilities for self-expression on the part of a great number of people in the Union, and the necessity of administering essentially local services from the provincial capitals, leading, as it inevitably must, to bureaucracy, inefficiency, and waste. For economy and efficiency in the administration of local services, local responsibility is the first essential, and that is a condition which cannot be said to be met where you have single authorities dealing with areas as large as

are those of the Provinces of the Union. In such circumstances it is inevitable that the Administrations should constantly be leaving undone things which ought to have been done, and also be doing things which ought not to have been done. But, quite apart from these considerations, the inadequacy of its system of local self-government is a source of weakness to any democratic nation. The enjoyment of the freedom of self-government by a people is limited by the extent to which it has learnt the lesson, how to govern, and that lesson can best be learnt in the school of local self-government. "Government," so wrote the authors of *The Government of South Africa*, "is the art of organizing society, and is at its best when its practice is most widely diffused through society itself. It cannot flourish as the mystery of a close professional guild."

But the provincial system itself is also exposed to very serious criticisms. Certainly its working has not given general satisfaction in South Africa. If the Union be viewed as a whole, it cannot be denied that the prevailing sentiment favours the abolition of Provincial Councils. That sentiment is least in evidence in the two smaller Provinces, Natal and the Free State, the Provinces which have received differential treatment in the matter of subsidies, and in which, owing to political homogeneity, the system has worked with very little friction. But even in these Provinces there have been signs of a change of feeling. In the Free State certainly there has been an unchecked

growth of the sense of dissatisfaction with the provincial system, which the present financial difficulties and the imposition of increased taxation are doing much to stimulate. In Natal the same tendency was at one time apparent, and the enactment of a personal and income tax some few years ago strongly encouraged it. But the flag controversy aroused Natal to a new consciousness of its distinctiveness, and since then it has been inclined to regard its Provincial Council as the palladium of its distinctive individuality.

We start, then, with the fact of dissatisfaction with the provincial system. Yet analysis shows that the considerations on which that dissatisfaction is in fact based are not easily maintained. Ordinarily there are two main lines of attack on the councils. The one is financial. It is repeatedly stated that the expenditure of the councils is unduly high, and that it would make for economy if the Union were to take over the work. That statement is based on a half-truth. It is certainly true that economies can be effected in provincial administration, but substantial economies can only be effected by the adoption of changes to which the majority of the electorate is opposed, as, for instance, the abolition of free secondary education in the Transvaal. For the rest, it may be contended that at present the provincial administrations are in general less, rather than more, extravagantly administered than are Union Departments, and also that where certain provincial services have in recent years been transferred to the Union Government, the result has certainly not

been a decrease in expenditure. For the most part the Provinces have to deal with expanding services, on which an increased expenditure could with advantage be incurred, and the Union Government, with its greater resources, would find it difficult to resist the pressure to provide for such an increase. It can, indeed, be affirmed with confidence that the abolition of the Provincial Councils will not lead either to a saving of money or to a net reduction in taxation. The other popular line of attack on the provincial system is based on the legislation which they from time to time enact. On several occasions when a Provincial Council has passed a measure which has aroused strong opposition, that has been represented by the critics as constituting a case for abolition. The fallacy is obvious. If the majority of a popularly-elected body follows a line which the minority does not like, the correct course for that minority is to prepare for a reversal of the decision of the electorate at the next election, not to cry weakly for the abolition of the body itself.

But, if the popular grounds for the abolition of the Provincial Council are untenable, it cannot be denied that there are other weaknesses, deep-seated weaknesses, in the present system.

The first of these weaknesses is on the financial side. After the 1925 settlement the Provinces journeyed for some years in reasonably calm financial waters. Each year they were able to carry over a surplus to the next year, and, though it was in most cases a diminishing surplus, still they were spared the necessity

of imposing additional taxation. The fact, however, that these surpluses were diminishing surpluses shows that even in these good years most of the Councils were not in fact making both ends meet. And, now that the carried-over surpluses are exhausted and the good years have come to an end, the Provinces are again faced with serious financial difficulties. These difficulties cannot but show up both the constitutional and the financial weaknesses of the system. For, apart fron the hated land-tax, the effective taxable reserve of most of the Provinces is to be found in the taxation of incomes. Such taxation is imposed in three of the Provinces to-day. But it is not imposed at the Cape, and in the Transvaal and Natal it is not imposed to the full extent of the powers granted by Parliament to the Councils in this respect. But Provincial legislation along these lines at once gives rise to opposition — it also brings into relief the unsoundness of a system under which two authorities operate in the same field of taxation. Under such a system it inevitably becomes impossible to avoid inequitable incidence, since neither authority is able to get a complete view of the taxpayer's burden, and the necessary balance of taxation is therefore not secured. The Royal Commission on Taxation in Australia, after its examination of overlapping taxation in the Commonwealth, came to the conclusion that "any scheme of harmonization or amalgamation which still leaves Commonwealth and State authorities

both demanding revenue from the same people by the same mode of taxation can at best be only an imperfect remedy for the existing disabilities."

Alongside of the financial weakness of the present system must be mentioned its administrative weakness. The lines of demarcation between Union and provincial functions have not been so drawn as to avoid overlapping, which leads to waste and inefficiency, and with the years the overlapping tends to increase, rather than decrease. In many spheres of state activity South Africa is to-day seeking to divide the indivisible. The Act of Union has assigned to the Provinces the care of education other than higher, and in the first instance higher education was regarded as signifying university education. But Parliament has since defined higher education in such a manner as to make it possible for the Minister to declare as falling within the scope of the term certain institutions doing work of a secondary, even a primary, character, with the result that it is possible for a Provincial Administration to be calling for applications for the post of lecturer in a Normal College at the same time as a Union Department proceeds to the appointment of a teacher at a kindergarten. Technical and industrial education are administered by a Union Department in unnatural divorce from other branches of secondary education which fall under the Provincial Administrations. The devising of a national system of education, which South Africa badly needs, remains an idle dream. Much the same is true in the sphere of public health. The

Union has a Public Health Department—the Provinces administer Hospitals. Or rather, the Provinces administer some hospitals, for there are special types of hospitals, which are administered either by the Public Health Department or by the Department of the Interior. In the detailed administration of public health there is frequent friction between Union and Provinces. The general problem of the health of the people it remains impossible to envisage in all its bearings. In the sphere of poor relief there is similar overlapping. The Union deals with Unemployment, and provides Old Age Pensions, the Provinces still grant doles to necessitous applicants, and support certain charitable institutions. A synoptic view of the problem of poverty it is very difficult to secure. So again with roads, a matter for provincial administration to-day, but linking itself up more and more closely with the wider problems of transportation, the other main aspects of which are presented by the Railways, which the Union Government administers. And so, as one surveys the administrative field, one comes to the conclusion that the Provinces have been allowed to carve bits out of the body politic, and that both the parts cut off and the members which remain are the worse for the excision.

Most serious, however, among the weaknesses of the provincial system are its constitutional weaknesses. If the Councils were considered as organs of local government for compact areas administered with reasonable freedom from party spirit, their constitution would not be open to serious criticism. Where that condition is

approximated to, as in the case of Natal and the Free State, there has been comparative freedom from constitutional difficulty. But where that condition is not fulfilled, where the Council functions as a semi-Parliament, copying the procedure, the traditions, and the party divisions of Parliament, the constitutional difficulties at once assert themselves.

First among the difficulties is the probable absence of homogeneity in the Executive Committee, with the resultant lack of a sense of collective responsibility. It happens constantly that a member of the Executive may be in full accord with a policy agreed upon by the Executive, but in the Council he will vote with his party against that policy, having retained his right to do so. Next, there is the fact that the Executive is not responsible to the legislature, and cannot enforce the adoption of a policy by the threat of resignation. It has happened before now that a unanimous Executive has agreed to submit a financial proposal to the Council, which has rejected it by an equally unanimous vote, including the members of the Executive voting with their respective parties. This difficulty is accentuated when it becomes necessary to impose taxation, and when, as has often been the case in the Transvaal, there are three or four parties in the Council, no one of which has a majority, the imposition of taxation becomes a task of tremendous difficulty. Lastly, there is the position of the Administrator, who has been appointed by the Union Government, but has to work with the

Provincial Council. It has happened frequently that the elective members of the Executive are equally divided in respect of party affiliations. In that event the Administrator has the deciding voice and vote. If he acts as a party politician, and gives his support to that section of the Executive which is in the minority in the Council, a conflict between Council and Executive, for the resolution of which the constitution provides no machinery, results. The worst instance of such a conflict is that which took place in the Transvaal in 1914, when the Labour Party secured a small majority in the Council, but refused to accept representation on the Executive, because it could not control it, since the Administrator was regarded as hostile. There followed a fierce struggle, culminating in a deadlock as a result of the inability of Council and Executive to agree on a taxation policy, which was terminated only by the Union Government providing the necessary funds to carry on. The Administrator's position is therefore potentially one of very great difficulty. If he has given reason for being regarded as a party politician, possibilities of conflict arise as soon as the majority in either Provincial Council or Union Parliament or both is of a different party from that with which he has affinities. When all these elements in the situation are in agreement, the Administrator's path becomes comparatively easy ; otherwise he can achieve success only if he dissociates himself entirely from party politics, but even in that case high qualities of tact and discretion are demanded.

It may appear strange that these obvious constitutional defects should not have been patent to the National Convention. It has been said that the Convention assumed that party politics would be kept out of the Provincial Councils. But, if that be so, it must be admitted that some of its actions tended in the opposite direction. Certainly the fixing of the same constituencies for Provincial as for Parliamentary elections in the two larger provinces, and the constitution of the Councils as part of the electorate for the Senate had that effect. And the first Union Government accentuated the tendency when it appointed the first provincial and the first parliamentary elections to be held on the same day.

It would seem then that one must go deeper for the explanation. That explanation can probably be found in the fact that the provincial system was based on a compromise—a twofold compromise. There is first the compromise between the idea of a legislative body and the idea of a local authority. The framers of the constitution were faced with the fact that in three of the Provinces there were no organs of rural local self-government, and that in these circumstances something more was needed than a single centralized government. They were faced also with the traditions of the pre-existing Colonial Parliaments. And so they conceived of the Provincial Councils as something less than Parliaments, something more than organs of local government. In the result the compromise has

not worked very successfully. The restrictions on the powers of the Councils have hampered their functioning as Parliaments; the extent of the areas with which they deal has made it impossible for them to do really satisfactory work in the sphere of local government.

But second and more important is the compromise between the principle of Federation and the principle of Unification. On this point there were acute differences at the National Convention. Strong views in favour of Federation were held, especially in Natal, to a less extent in the Free State, and by a certain section at the Cape. Botha and Smuts, supported by Merriman, triumphed, but something had to be done to satisfy the minority. And so not only were concessions made to the principle of Federalism in the constitution of the Senate, but the Provinces were also allowed to retain something like their former local Parliaments, with some of their parliamentary trappings. But it had to be made perfectly clear that they were not sovereign bodies. Hence Section 86 of the Act of Union, establishing the absolute supremacy of Parliament; hence the conception of the Executive Committees as bodies not responsible to their Councils; hence the peculiar position of the Administrators. The result of that compromise has been the creation of organs of government, which have not in the twenty years of their existence found, and, it would seem, cannot find, an assured place for themselves in the country's constitutional fabric.

From this discussion of the weaknesses in the present position, one passes naturally to a consideration of the remedy. If the present constitution of the Councils is based on a compromise, and if that compromise is not working satisfactorily, it is natural to look for a solution along the lines of the full and logical adoption of one or other of the principles between which a compromise has been made. It might be held that a revised form of compromise should be attempted, but no specific proposal in this direction which has hitherto been made will bear examination. It is difficult, therefore, to resist the conclusion of the Provincial Administration Commission which reported in 1917, that "there are only two alternatives before the Provincial Councils as part of the constitution of South Africa—viz., that they should either become or give place to real local government bodies, corresponding in area and functions, in status and procedure, with local government bodies properly so called, or that they should be definitely constituted as state or provincial Parliaments in a federal system." Federalism, or a complete and logical system of Unification—that is the choice which South Africa will shortly be called upon to make.

What of Federalism? Let it be said first that many who in 1909 advocated Unification would to-day be prepared to admit that a mistaken policy was then followed, that the sounder view was that which was held by men like Jan Hofmeyr, who gave the preference to Federation because he held that the union of the

European races in South Africa had not yet reached the stage when it could provide the necessary inspiration for a political union, organically so close as the National Convention proposed. Under Federation, undoubtedly, fewer causes of friction would have emerged in the post-1910 years between British and Dutch, between what the Free State and Natal respectively stand for; under Federation Rhodesia would probably by this time have entered into organic union with South Africa. There is much truth in the statement recently made by Mr. Heaton Nicholls, M.P., in this connection: "There was (at the time of Union) too much inflammable material lying about, ready to be fired by any political incendiary. The Union, as a corner-stone of conciliation, was more of the heart than of the head. There were too many bitter memories in the minds of the living to be exorcised when rival parties and personages and clashing ambitions began to get under weigh in a single Parliament. Instead of close contact rubbing off the edges, it but served to sharpen them. Things which could be said without offence at a distance, could not be said at all in the heated atmosphere of a central Parliament, without arousing the most unreasoning anger, with all its lamentable effects upon the public outside. And gradually, as the speeches in the Union Parliament awoke again the animosities in the hearts of the people, and the echo of those animosities became again reflected in Parliament, there was evolved a general politically nervous condition, which

required the constant stimulus and excitement of personal politics to act as a *digitalis* to the political heart disease."

Should South Africa then revert to Federalism? The acceptance of that view does not follow necessarily from acceptance of the view that Federalism would have been the better way in 1909. Progress towards national unity may well have been more rapid under a federal system than it actually has been, but for all that progress has been made; despite difficulties, despite setbacks, the European peoples of the Union to-day find themselves on the whole more closely knit together by the bonds of sympathy and understanding, with fewer causes of difference and of controversy, than was the case twenty years ago. The taking of so definite a step as a reversion to Federalism implies would shock the whole body politic of South Africa, would encourage separatist and isolationist tendencies, would at this stage make for the parting asunder, rather than for the drawing together, of the South African people. And so probably there are to-day far fewer people who would support a reversion to Federalism than there were who championed its adoption as a form of government twenty years ago. The advocates of that course are to be found to-day chiefly in Natal, and they state their case with force and conviction, and in a manner which commands respect. They put forward the view, and secure support for it even from their opponents, that South Africa would have been spared many of its troubles

had it contented itself with a federal system in 1909; they can advance powerful arguments against the bureaucracy which has steadily been gaining control in South Africa under its present form of government; they plead eloquently for the provision of better facilities for local control. But they do not recognize the effect of a reversion to Federalism on the national unity of the people of South Africa to-day; and they fail also to face up to the very serious difficulty which will be experienced, probably to an even greater extent than it has been experienced under federal constitutions elsewhere, in demarcating the taxing powers of the federal Parliament and the state legislatures. South Africa has struggled with that problem in relation to its Provincial Councils for twenty years without arriving at any other than a temporary and, in principle, not entirely sound solution. The difficulties of that problem would be magnified considerably if Provincial Councils were to be replaced by State Parliaments. Sir Wilfred Laurier once spoke of the "pitfall of concurrent jurisdiction" in a federal system. It is in the sphere of finance that the framers of a federal constitution for South Africa would to-day find perhaps the most serious difficulties.

Speaking generally then, it would seem that South Africa, having set its feet on a path which leads away from Federalism, cannot now retrace its steps. Certainly there is no sufficient body of public opinion in the Union which would favour such a reversal of policy—its trend has in fact been set steadily in the

opposite direction. Certainly also the experience of other lands suggests that the normal tendency, when a union has been formed out of two or more previously distinct units, is centripetal rather than centrifugal.

We would appear then to be thrown back upon the acceptance as our aim of a system under which all legislative powers, as well as the administration of questions which, in the words of the Provincial Administration Commission, "raise national issues and cause political divisions" shall be dealt with by a single body, the Union Parliament, and that no other legislative body should be retained alongside of it. That would, however, in itself provide only a very partial solution of the problem which has been disclosed in this chapter. It would solve the problems presented by the constitution of our Provincial Councils; it would leave untouched the problem of rural local self-government, and by itself it would make for the growth of that bureaucracy which not only the Federationists in our midst deplore. The necessary counterpart to legislative centralization must be administrative devolution. In his memorandum attached to the Report of the Financial Relations Commission, Sir P. Laurence remarked on the general tendency in the world towards the increased recognition of the importance of strengthening the central government. That tendency, it may be suggested, is a reflection of the annihilation of distance in modern times. But he pointed out also that there was a growing feeling, for instance, in the United Kingdom, in favour of

relieving the central government from the burden of local affairs by a wide extension of the principle of devolution to subordinate authorities. But, as he went on to say, such decentralization may be either legislative or administrative. And if, at the present stage of South Africa's political development, we have to accept the necessity of legislative centralization, we should at least seek compensation in administrative devolution.

The solution of the problem here advanced is, then, the abolition of the Provincial Councils, the resumption by Parliament of sole legislative authority, and the creation of organs of local self-government with substantial administrative powers in the areas where they do not exist to-day. A similar proposal was made by the Provincial Administration Commission in 1917; it is felt, however, that that Commission erred in advising that there should be both divisional councils in each magisterial area, and also superimposed district councils to the number of fourteen in the Union as a whole. Such a duplication as the Commission proposed would have the effect that two sets of bodies would be rating the same properties, an effect which should as far as possible be avoided in South Africa under present conditions. What is here contemplated is rather a single system of what may be called district councils, more numerous than those proposed by the Commission, but covering two or more adjacent, economically similar, magisterial areas. The areas of the councils should not be too large, since the maintenance of a local community of interest must be

ensured. Let us not forget that it is local knowledge, local affection, and local responsibility, with their basis in community of interest, which form the bricks out of which any sane national sentiment and national character must be constructed. In this connection it may be accepted as a principle that, as far as is practicable, a large homogeneous urban area, like the Cape Peninsula or the Witwatersrand, or Durban together with the peri-Durban area, should be constituted as a single unit. But the areas must also not be too small; they should certainly in pretty well every case be larger than are the divisions or magisterial areas of to-day. The aim of creating Councils which shall be strong and well-balanced must not be lost sight of. In the case of the Transvaal, for instance, it is considered that apart from the Witwatersrand and Pretoria (Town and District), there might be two District Council areas in the North, four in the Western Transvaal and five in the Eastern Transvaal.

From the point of view of function, one's conception of these district councils would be threefold. First, they should have certain administrative powers to be exercised at their own discretion; here there are contemplated more especially such matters as roads (other than main roads, which should be dealt with as a national matter) and poor relief. Next, they should be the administrative agents of the Union Government in carrying out national policies in respect of education and public health, and at the same time

exercising within the limits of these policies certain specified functions at their own discretion. Finally, they should be recognized very definitely as advisory bodies in regard more especially to agricultural matters, and have a clearly determined status in shaping government policies, and in the carrying out of them. If the Union's district officers were required to keep in touch with these bodies, much as school inspectors and road inspectors to-day keep in touch with advisory School Boards and Road Boards, an important check would be imposed upon the development of bureaucracy.

A word should perhaps be added in regard to education. It is here that special care should be taken in the application of the twin principles of legislative centralization and administrative devolution. The country needs a national policy of education, but untempered bureaucracy in educational administration would be a heavy price to pay for that policy. The conception of administrative devolution should be unreservedly accepted and consistently carried out. To-day Union Departments, like Defence and Public Health, have found it necessary to organize themselves on a local basis. In the case of education such organization is even more necessary. To it perhaps more than anything else applies the statement, that "there are certain functions of government which are of national interest, but which, it is essential, should be performed in a manner appropriate to the conditions and needs of each locality." While then on the

proposals here made there would be a single Director of Education, responsible to the Minister, and advising him in regard to the shaping of the national policy, he should have Assistant Directors, one each for the Northern Provinces as they are to-day, one for the Cape Western districts, and one for the Cape Eastern districts, and these Assistant Directors should have extended administrative functions and executive powers. It is with them that the District Councils should deal, and it should not ordinarily be necessary for those concerned in any local education matter to go beyond one or other of them for a decision. To give a concrete instance, the appointment of teachers would lie with the District Council, subject to approval by the Assistant Director. The Director would deal merely with appeals against the exercise of the veto by one of the Assistant Directors.

It follows necessarily from what has been proposed that these Councils will have to have powers of taxation, in the form of rates on property and taxes on vehicles and dogs; but even so they will not be able to carry out such functions as have been suggested without subsidies from the central government. The task of devising a system of subsidy will not be easy, but the difficulties should not prove to be insuperable.

It must frankly be admitted that there is a serious difficulty in the way of giving effect to a scheme such as is here proposed. It involves the rating of agricultural land, and to that opposition in the Northern Provinces has always been acute. But it may at least

be claimed that there is a growing volume of opinion in favour of it, even in the rural districts of those Provinces, and that the shipwreck of attempts in that direction hitherto has been due very largely to the rivalry between parties which appeal to electors of the same general outlook and economic interests. The time is coming when it should not be beyond the power of a strong government to tackle the problem. Until then the steady education of public opinion, and especially the inculcation of the lesson that the acceptance of the principle of the rating of agricultural land is essential to South Africa's progress, can play a big part in hastening the solution of South Africa's problems of provincial and local government.

It remains to consider the specific case of Natal. It will be clear from what has already been said that a scheme on the lines here suggested would not be acceptable to the majority public opinion in Natal, that, in fact, any proposal even for a reduction in the present powers of the Provincial Council would arouse strong opposition. That fact has been very fully, and, it is believed, very sympathetically considered in the preparation of this study. To the writer it has seemed that there are three ways of dealing with the problem which it suggests :

(1) The abandonment of a scheme to which the logic of facts seems to point with irresistible force, merely because there is one instance which it does not readily fit,

(2) The recognition of Natal as a distinctive unit in the South African nation, and the suggestion that, while these proposals should apply to the rest of South Africa, Natal should retain its Provincial Council, and, finally,

(3) The presentation of the solution which appears to be right and proper, without overlooking the difficulties in the way, but in the belief that those difficulties are susceptible to treatment which will make them disappear.

The first of these three courses has been rejected because it has been found that there is no alternative proposal not open to far more serious objection and difficulty. In the case of the second there is the insidious attractiveness of a compromise, but we dare not fail to examine it in the light of its effect on national psychology. Let it be conceded that there is to-day a distinctiveness between Natal and the rest of South Africa, expressing itself time and again in manifestations of diversity of spirit. That may be conceded without attempting to assess in how far it is the fault of Natal—certainly it is not Natal's fault alone. Let it be conceded further that there is a tendency in the rest of South Africa to regard Natal as outside the South African family. And that also may be conceded without attempting to assess in how far it is the fault of the rest of South Africa—certainly it is not the fault of the rest of South Africa alone. But the important question is whether this distinctiveness is of so fundamental, so essential, so necessarily permanent a character, that

it needs to be enshrined in the country's constitutional fabric. Such action would certainly confirm and make permanent in men's minds lines of cleavage which are really only of a transient and evanescent character, which have, in fact, become decreasingly evident in recent years.

What is at the root of Natal's distinctiveness? Partly it is Natal's geographical position—its isolation from the rest of South Africa with its surrounding belt of mountains and Transkeian natives—but the power of geographical circumstance is in these days steadily waning. Partly also it is the fact, that in Natal there is a concentrated predominantly English-speaking population, and that the sense of constituting a minority in the greater South Africa is therefore very naturally a potent factor in men's minds. But after all the minority in South Africa is not to be found only in Natal, and to that extent the problem of Natal's distinctiveness is only part of a wider South African problem. And that problem means in South Africa, as in any other similar country, the presentation of a choice to the minority. Does it wish itself to be regarded as a tolerated minority, with all the safeguards—and all the limitations—of a sanctified distinctiveness, or will it prefer to take its place as part of the nation, making its contribution to the national life, and receiving like contributions in return? It presents likewise a challenge to the majority. Will it make the gesture, give the sympathetic encouragement, create the atmosphere of goodwill which will enable

the minority to choose the second of these courses, from which it not unnaturally shrinks? The feeling of the writers of these Studies in regard to these points must be clear in the light of the first chapter of this book. They cannot but view the enshrinement at this stage of the distinctiveness of any part of South Africa as a serious setback in the growth of our nationhood, and for that reason they could not support any proposal for constitutional change which bases itself so very definitely on the conception of Natal as a place apart. Rather would they admit the necessity for the exercise of a little more patience in regard to the solution of the problems dealt with in this chapter, believing that, given goodwill, the removal of the obstacles now existing need not necessarily be very far off. For that reason the scheme which seems to be the sound one is submitted in this chapter without qualification, save in so far as it is admitted that the sense of distinctiveness in regard to Natal does constitute a serious obstacle to its immediate acceptance, and in so far as it is urged upon those who have the power to do so, to apply their best efforts by administrative and other action to hasten its disappearance.

Chapter II.

THE PUBLIC SERVICE.

By Edgar H. Brookes.

There was a time when political scientists neglected the Civil Service and when even practical politicians failed to recognize its fundamental importance for good government. Those days are past : the growing organization of this complex world, the increasing importance and the increasing need for the social control of certain types of business undertaking combine to lead men to a new appreciation of administrative efficiency. Moreover, the new philosophy of the state stresses service, not power. The sovereign state has become the ministering state, engaged in public service ; and as a natural consequence we are replacing the study of theories of sovereignty by the study of methods of administration. The new school of political scientists, of which Professor Laski and M. Léon Duguit are shining examples, insist on a realistic interpretation of the term "the state." When men say that they believe in state control of marriage, for example, they do not mean that in their belief some divine personality, clad in shining armour, and endowed with awful and inscrutable wisdom, should choose our life's partner

for us. They see rather a bald-headed senior clerk in the marriage section of the Department of Public Health, clad in a too shiny suit, and endowed with no more wisdom than his fellows, dealing with our case as perhaps the twenty-sixth file of a fatiguing day's work. The new philosophy of politics may indeed limit our faith in state action, but it helps us to see how important a factor of state action is the Public Service in all its grades.

In a modern state we desire to see stability, amenability to public opinion, and efficiency. We naturally expect our Parliamentary institutions to provide us with the necessary amenability to public opinion. Stability they very rarely possess, and such measure of efficiency as they may contribute to public life is rather in the nature of a happy accident than a natural and essential part of the system. It is to the Public Service that we look for efficiency and stability in a democratic state. " If therefore the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness ! " If the Public Service is inefficient and unstable, where are the qualities of stability and efficiency to be found ? Hence the urgent and generally recognized need for Public Service independence — independence of appointment, of promotion, of dismissal. Anything approaching a " spoils system " tends to make the Service a useless replica of Parliamentary institutions, exhibiting all their defects but not necessarily their merits. If General Smuts is right in holding the view put forward in his Sidgwick Memorial Lecture

on Democracy that free institutions need to be combined with the work of the administrative expert, that democracy must be completed by science, then an independent and able Civil Service is a necessity for any self-respecting state.

Thoughts such as these suggested themselves to the National Convention in 1908–9, which, building on Australian experience, proposed to entrust the control of the Service to a Public Service Commission. The experiment was at that time a daring one, for the Canadian and American Commissions had not then come into existence, the British Public Service Commission was chiefly an examining and recording body, and none of the colonies had had experience of anything but extremely weak Public Service Advisory Boards.

The principal object of Commission control of the Public Service is to secure independence of party influence. To attain this end we need to ensure (1) that the Commission really controls the Service; (2) that it is not itself controlled by the Government or any other extraneous influence. Briefly speaking, the history of the Public Service Commission in South Africa consists of a nine years' struggle (1912–21) to obtain effective control of the Service, followed by a brief Golden Age and after that by a period during which the charge is frequently made by Public Servants—justifiably or unjustifiably—that the Commission which controls them so effectively is itself effectively controlled. Whether such criticism is

rightly directed at the present Commission may, indeed, be open to question ; but there is no question at all that Commission control alone, without effective guarantees of the Commission's independence, is inadequate as a solution of Public Service problems. *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?*

The first permanent Public Service Commission commenced its operations on 1st August, 1912, in terms of the Public Service and Pensions Act of that year. Its beginning was most inauspicious. The Government, the permanent heads of Departments and the Treasury all alike regarded it with suspicion. Its authority was defied or ignored in one hundred and twelve cases in 1912 and ninety-eight cases in 1913—figures which have never been approached since. In addition, the Executive Committee of the Transvaal Province entirely rejected the Commission's scheme for the regrading of its officers and substituted its own.

More important still was the dispute which arose in the course of the year 1913 as to the exact nature of the Commission's functions under the Act of 1912. The points at issue between the Commission and the Government were principally the creation of new posts in the Administrative and Clerical Division and the changing of salary scales. The attitude of the Government is shown in the following letter addressed by the Secretary of the Interior to the Secretary of the Public Service Commission early in 1913 :

"As your Commissioners did not concur in my proposal, the correspondence was referred to the Secretary for Finance, who was requested to arrange for an independent investigation into the work performed. This investigation was carried out by the Under-Secretary for Finance and another Treasury official."

It is not surprising that the Commission should have commented on this letter in somewhat acid terms.

"The Commission cannot leave this case," reads their report for the year 1913, "without expressing its resentment of the undeserved slight cast on it by the Minister of the Interior in preferring the advice of an 'independent' body consisting of two officers of the Treasury to the advice previously given him by the Commission, which would, therefore, appear to be regarded by him as biassed in its views."

Eleven pages of criticism equally frank in the Report for 1913 brought the Commission into open conflict with the Government. The Report was laid before a Select Committee of the House of Assembly which decided against the Commission on almost every point. As a result, an Amending Act (No. 39 of 1914) was passed, which validated such actions of the Government as had been frankly illegal, and decided all doubtful points against the Commission. From the passing of this Act, the Commission's activities were restricted to (1) holding examinations; (2) recommending persons for appointment to certain posts in the Administrative and Clerical Division; (3) keeping

records and publishing a Public Service List; (4) reporting on disciplinary cases of a serious nature; (5) recommending promotions. As the Commission had no Inspectors, its functions under the fifth head were confined generally to approving the recommendations of Heads of Departments.

The Commission, needless to say, protested vigorously against this circumscribing of its powers. With such limited functions, the Commission claimed that the expenditure on itself was unjustifiable. The Commissioners were, however, prevented by the outbreak of war from resigning immediately. The Government used two of the Commissioners for special war work and the Commission was still able to discharge its attenuated functions in its spare time.

In 1915 the Government drafted a Bill with the object of substituting a single Commissioner for the existing Commission. He was to have no staff of his own, and the clerical work relating to his duties was to be performed by a Department of State. This, which would have been tantamount to a complete abolition of the system of Commission control, was fortunately prevented by the protests of the existing Commissioners and the legal difficulties attendant upon their retirement before the completion of their five years' period of office.

In the midst of the controversy, the Chairman of the Commission (Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart.) resigned. The Government refused to fill the vacancy, and the remaining Commissioners, claiming that they

were not a valid Commission under the Acts of 1912 and 1914, only continued to act under protest. As the Law Advisers upheld the claim of the Commissioners, the Government introduced legislation (Act 15 of 1916) reducing the membership of the Commission to two, and validating the acts of the two Commissioners during the intervening period.

The Commission remained at a membership of two until 17th October, 1921. The Act of 1916 gave the Minister of the Interior power to appoint a third member *ad hoc* in cases where the two permanent members could not agree. It is instructive and interesting to notice that during six years this contingency never arose once.

Even in the limited sphere left to it the Commission was challenged, and notably by the Provincial Administrations. Without going into details of individual cases, it may be noticed that while the Provincial Services as a whole are only between 2 and 3 per cent. of the total Public Service, the percentage of Provincial to total conflicts with the Commission between the years 1917 and 1928 is 35. The Orange Free State Provincial Service, the personnel of which is about 0·3 per cent. of the total personnel of the Public Service, was especially notable for its disagreements with the Commission. The proportion of such disagreements to the total number was as high as 15 per cent.

The winter of the Commission's discontent was, however, soon to be made glorious summer. In 1918

the Public Service Commission of Inquiry—generally known as the Graham Commission—was appointed to investigate Service matters generally. In 1920 it issued its famous Fifth Report, the leading principles of which were (1) control of the Service by a strong and independent Commission; (2) the creation of a smaller, better paid, and more efficient Service.

The second of these points will occupy us later. In the meantime let us proceed to examine the history of the Commission. It became once again a three-member Commission on the 17th October, 1921. By Government Notices, under Section 2 of Act 29 of 1912, several important additional powers were conferred upon it pending legislation. A staff of ten Inspectors was appointed, and periodical and systematic inspections were begun. All these changes received statutory authority by the new Public Service and Pensions Act, No. 27 of 1923, which also revised the pension provisions and created a Public Service Advisory Council. This body, an unsuccessful adaptation of the British Whitley Council system, met for the first time on 9th January, 1924.

The period 1921–4 may be not inaptly described as the 'Golden Age' of the Commission. Before 1921 it was powerless. After 1924 it has been distrusted by either the Government or a large part of the Service or both. From 1921 to 1924 it was both strong and trusted, although even during that period some of its actions (for example, the reorganisation of the Native

Affairs Department) were criticized as being too much influenced by the Government.

A change of Government in 1924 produced almost immediately acute conflict between the Commission and the Government. The interpretation of the principle of bilingualism was the ostensible ground of conflict, but there can be little doubt that political considerations were given a weight not contemplated by the Public Service Acts, and not compatible with the principles of good government. Indeed, one Minister publicly avowed his belief that consideration should be given to political affiliations "other things being equal."

The number of instances where the authority of the Commission was challenged was small, but, in contradistinction to the practice before 1924, the conflicts arose in posts of major importance—Headships of Divisions or even Headships of Departments. That the Commission should have been entirely reconstituted in 1926 was not altogether surprising (although every Commission prior to 1926 had included at least one member of the previous Commission); but the effect must surely have been to convey to any new Commissioners a solemn warning as to the dangers of being too independent. For, although it is quite impossible for anyone who has not gone very deeply into every case to pronounce judgment on the Commission appointed in 1926, there is no doubt as to the widespread impression, right or wrong, of its

being somewhat unduly tender towards the views of Ministers and of the Government generally.

Two or three very interesting recent developments call for discussion here. One is the precedent set by the creation of the Government Attorney's Office in 1925. The Act which created that Office (No. 25 of 1925) provided that the Government Attorney and his staff should be appointed by the Governor-General on such conditions as he might determine, without any reference to the Commission. The posts created were not to be in the Public Service, although the service of any Public Servant appointed to the Government Attorney's Office was to count as service for pension and other purposes as if he had remained in his Department. The field opened here for uncontrolled patronage is a wide one and disturbing as a precedent. Some amazing appointments and promotions have been made, so amazing as to be commented upon in the Public Service Commission's Reports, although lying strictly speaking outside the jurisdiction of that body.

A further disquieting development was the acceptance by one of the Commissioners of the Managership of the State Diamond Diggings in Namaqualand, without resigning his post on the Commission. Only the plain speaking of the Controller and Auditor-General prevented the continuance of this combination of mutually incompatible functions. The errant Commissioner returned to the fold, but the episode did nothing to restore confidence in the Commission.

Lastly, the comparative failure of the Public Service Advisory Board—a failure due in no way to its members—remains to be noted. That body has put forward numerous recommendations, but the tendency of the Commission to reject all the more important ones has killed interest in the Board. It seems as if confidence can only be restored by making the Commission itself, on true Whitley Council lines, partially representative of the "Staff side."

Such is the present position with regard to control. How is it to be improved?

Nothing will be done by sacrificing the principle of Commission control, or weakening the status of the Commission. The Graham Report's conception of a strong Commission definitely controlling the Service stands and must stand. It only remains for us to see how far this Commission may be made really independent, and in what way temptations may be removed from it and from the Government.

The ideal Commission would undoubtedly consist of a Judge of the Supreme Court seconded to act as Chairman, one member nominated by the Governor-General-in-Council, and one member elected by the Public Service itself.

Its term of office should be longer than five years, and to avoid sudden and complete changes the system of perpetual partial renewal should be employed. With a three-member Commission this would mean a term of years which is a multiple of three. Either nine or twelve years would meet the case, preferably

the latter. The first Commission appointed might then be constituted as follows. The Chairman would be appointed for twelve years, the Government nominee for eight years, and the Staff representative for four years. Thereafter every member would hold office on a twelve years' tenure. By this system the Commission would, at any given time, include two members of previous experience.

Instead of the Government being able to override the Commission as at present, resolutions of both Houses of Parliament should be required to that end. The maximum of publicity would then be obtained for any cases where the suspicion of party wire-pulling might arise.

In order to reduce the possibility of favouritism, or even of the imputation of favouritism, to a minimum, certain rules should be laid down with regard to appointment and superannuation.

Appointment to the Clerical Division should be by competitive examination, instead of by non-competitive examination, as at present. To-day the Commission has a long waiting-list of candidates: the supply far exceeds the demand. The competitive principle, impossible when Union began, can now be applied. One method would be to hold an *ad hoc* Public Service Entrance Examination, with Matriculation as a necessary qualification for writing it. Another method, which would work satisfactorily for at any rate a long time to come, would be to give preference to graduates and matriculants who had attained a prescribed class

or standard in the order stated, and to require matriculants of a lower standard to write a supplementary competitive examination. Great as are the theoretical objections to reliance on competitive examination as the sole condition of appointment, experience has not yet given us any other practicable method of appointment which is equally objective and equally successful in eliminating favouritism and the personal factor generally. Moreover, its application in the British and Indian Services has stood the test of time, just as Australian experience has vindicated the system of allowing only Parliament to override the Commission.

With regard to superannuation, a suggestion may be offered to which even less objection could present itself. The present system of optional superannuation at any age between fifty-five and sixty has, in spite of certain obvious arguments in its favour, one serious danger. It puts in the hands of Ministers and Provincial Executives a limited power of political dismissal. Unmistakable instances have occurred of dismissal for political reasons, but it would perhaps be somewhat indelicate to quote individual names. To avoid all danger of this kind, it would be better to create a fixed superannuation age of sixty. Not only would all possibility of political influence be removed, but a saving on the pensions bill would be effected—a saving not bought at any cost of efficiency, since few men are senile even at sixty, let alone fifty-five. Moreover it would minimize the dangers of too frequent changes in the permanent Headships of

Departments, and hence of internal Departmental policy. The fact that the principle of a fixed compulsory superannuation age of sixty has already had a long and successful trial in the old Cape Civil Service should weigh in its favour.

There remains the question of promotion, but this can perhaps be better dealt with when we come to discuss the problem of Service efficiency. The suggestions already made should go a long way towards securing complete Service independence.

The Graham Commission not only recommended strong and independent control. It was also in favour of a smaller, better-paid, and more efficient Service.

It is obvious that these three objectives are intimately connected. A better-paid Service must, under practical South African conditions, be a smaller Service, for the taxpayer cannot and will not accept any further burden for administrative expenses. Efficiency is sure to result from salary increases, encouraging as these are to both present and future servants, especially if these are coupled with a reduction of posts involving either the elimination of the inefficient at present employed or future recruitment on a severely competitive basis, or both. The fault of the Government in the years after 1920 lay in accepting the Graham scales of salary without taking any really effective measures for the reduction of establishments, with the natural result that, as soon as " bad times " came, the reduction of scales was at once resorted to.

Better salaries are a strong factor making for efficiency. There are, however, other factors to be considered. Of these the most important are the principles of promotion and the use of inspection.

The details of promotion in a body as large as the Union Public Service are too complicated to admit of full discussion here. It is felt, however, that the principle of interchangeability, hitherto adopted in theory by the Commission, has its limitations. While it may be a good thing in the clerical grades and perhaps in such Administrative posts as those of Accountant in the various Departments, it is felt that generally speaking a man who has reached a senior post should then proceed to specialize on departmental lines, as he does in France or England. The work of the Commission in determining higher promotions would be facilitated by the adoption of this principle, specialization would be encouraged, and finally a source of discontent removed, for few Departments welcome an " intruder " into a higher post, and the ill-will and friction caused by such an appointment far outweigh any slight superiority of the imported over the departmental officer. The same arguments apply with even greater force to appointments from outside the Service altogether. There is, of course, much to be said for such appointments. An infusion of new blood can do good. In certain American Departments a proportion of the men must be recruited from outside. For example, in the Department of Commerce—a Department, by the

way, strangely lacking in our Service since 1912—some of the men must have had responsible business experience outside the Service, and a certain number of senior officials particularly so. Even the influence on salary scales of such appointments is not to be despised. Yet the arguments against outside appointments are strong. It has already been suggested that they create bitter disappointment and resentment among those whose way to promotion has been barred; and it is certain that political affiliations are almost always given undue weight in such appointments, which are an excellent form of patronage for brothers in faith and brothers-in-law. On the whole, one would wish to see them restricted as much as possible unless and until a thoroughly independent Commission control of the Service can be brought into being. For brilliant men in other walks of life who may wish to devote themselves at a mature age to the service of the state can, it is suggested, be employed more usefully—at any rate in many cases—on Permanent Boards and Commissions rather than in the Public Service.

Promotion in the Clerical Division will always be a difficult problem. At present the test is "efficiency," which may mean almost anything, and can act as a cloak for favouritism. So far as it carries a meaning, it refers to the report of the Public Service Inspector on the individual concerned. This is to throw on the system of inspection a weight which it cannot carry. Much is to be said for a greater use of Departmental

inspection and Departmental promotion boards, always under the supreme control of the Commission and its Inspectors. The primary work of the Commission's Inspectors should, however, be to report on departmental organization and efficiency generally; and reporting on the efficiency of individuals, which in the nature of things they cannot do with complete knowledge, should form only a subsidiary part of their duties.

It is worthy of consideration whether the work of reporting on efficiency generally should not be linked up with some such institution as the American Bureau of Efficiency, or the alternative method also tried in America of an overhauling of Service methods and organisation by an *ad hoc* Commission of experts from the commercial and industrial world. There are and must remain, as Sir Josiah Stamp has so ably shown us, ineradicable differences between commercial and Public Service administration and finance, but the saving of waste in the American Federal Service as a result of the measures now under discussion has been very great. And what is wasted in our Service is just the amount which we cannot find to make the higher posts adequately remunerative and the Service as a whole a reasonably successful competitor with the other professions for the trained University man.

For the Universities must come to have, as the years go by, a greater and greater influence on administration. Not only must extra-mural training play (as in the London School of Economics or the University of

Melbourne) an important and creditable part, not only must the Service be made more attractive for the full-time University student who has graduated and has to be attracted from the other professions if the Service is to have some of the best brains, but also there should be much closer co-operation between University research workers and the technical Departments and expert Boards. This need was specially emphasized in the recent report of the Economic Commission in Australia.

Co-operation of the kind last referred to could perhaps be best attained by a Civil Research Bureau, which would not only bring the Universities, the Permanent Boards and the Departments into closer contact, but would also solve at least partially the problem of making the free expression of opinion by Public Servants on technical matters less hampered than it is at present. Whether we can go further in this direction of greater freedom of speech—the drawback to which is the greater likelihood of political dismissal—must be left to be tested by cautious experiment. The Civil Research Bureau would be a step in the right direction, and would not in itself endanger Service independence.

One of the elements of efficiency in a bilingual country is a good command of the two languages. No doubt the application of the bilingual principle demands more patience and common-sense than has sometimes been given to it. Pre-Union officials should not, perhaps, find their way to promotion barred by

unilingualism, although they have had over twenty years to acquire a knowledge of the second language. These officials are, however, a diminishing minority and do not represent a problem for the future. As regards highly technical appointments, it is felt that the best qualified man should be chosen : but should, if unilingual, receive special leave and facilities for acquiring a knowledge of the second language, which should be a condition of permanent appointment. Local difficulties are sometimes raised. Why should a Postmaster, for example, on the Natal South Coast require to know Afrikaans? The same man who raises this point would probably have a mortal grievance if during his travels in the South-Western Free State he encountered a Postmaster who knew no English.

Common-sense, patience and kindliness ought to moderate the campaign for full bilingualism in our time, but that in the overwhelming majority of cases public officials should and must be bilingual in speech and writing admits of no doubt. To oppose this ideal is to oppose the very framework of Union ; and for post-Union officials there can be no substantial hardship or injustice involved.

At the same time, while our Public Service becomes national to the core, and while the importation of Public Service experts becomes less and less necessary, every effort should be made to widen the interests and experience of our Public Servants, not only by encouraging the admission of graduates who have done research work in oversea Universities, but by granting

adequate long leave and study facilities for Servants already employed, and by encouraging a system of exchange between ourselves and other countries, inside and outside the British Commonwealth. In this work bodies such as the Institute of Public Administration, the English-speaking Union, the Nederlandsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Vereniging and the Bureau of Intellectual Co-operation could be extremely useful.

It may not be out of place, while discussing the Public Service, to say one word on our Permanent Boards and Commissions, of which the Public Service Commission itself is one, but by no means the only, example. Permanent Boards and Commissions represent the only agency in the modern state in which can be utilized the scientist or expert who is not a public servant and who does not possess the gifts or the taste for Parliamentary life. A fruitful combination of Permanent Boards with Parliament, each efficient on its own lines, seems to the writer a natural and timely evolution from nineteenth-century democracy, and as much as our generation will be able to accept of the ideal of the functional state.

But if Permanent Boards are to fulfil their functions, they must consist of real experts and not of superannuated partisans. They must be political laboratories, not political hospitals or political old men's homes. Our experience of appointments to Permanent Boards in South Africa has been by no means a uniformly happy one. Who really (to speak frankly) looks to

the Railway Board for a scientific formulation of railway policy? Who really expects the Native Affairs Commission to give any lead on Native affairs?

The term of office of Permanent Boards—generally five years—should certainly be extended, as suggested in the case of the Public Service Commission. This would be valuable if real experts were appointed, would at least give members of the present unsatisfactory type time to learn their job, and would greatly increase their independence. Most assuredly, too, the system of perpetual partial renewal should be used, so that under a given government no Commission should ever be completely changed at once.

How to ensure a better type of member is a more difficult problem, and one all but impossible to compass by any mechanical rules. The great desideratum here is that some courageous and public-spirited Government might create a tradition of really impartial and expert appointments. Possibly a partial system of election might be used in some cases, as, for example, the Associated Chambers of Commerce or other economic bodies might elect one member of the Board of Trade, or the Annual Native Conference might elect one member of the Native Affairs Commission, but this is a very tentative suggestion.

The proper and effective use of Permanent Boards is one of the chief duties of modern states which desire to preserve the democratic system and yet to attain efficiency. The work of Committees of Experts under

the League of Nations demonstrates completely, as General Smuts has pointed out, what can be achieved in this field.

In concluding this brief study of our administrative system, we cannot avoid dwelling for a moment on certain dangerous tendencies of public administration which have made themselves felt in South Africa. Although such a book as Lord Hewart's *The New Despotism* may exaggerate the dangers of the modern extension of official discretion, and although lawyers may tend to take too professional a view of the encroachment of the Public Service on their functions, yet the principles of liberty which we have learned to reverence under the name of the "rule of law" are worthy to be fought for; and they are at present in extreme danger in South Africa.

That legislation by regulation should be common may excite no surprise. Undoubtedly it is better that the Lands Department should legislate about terms of tenure and improvements or that the Department of Customs and Excise should lay down detailed rules about the gauging of spirits rather than that such matters should be left to an inexpert Parliament. But it is going rather far when we find the Native Administration Act of 1927 giving the Government power to issue Proclamations overriding Acts of Parliament, past or future—a provision unique in the Constitutional Law of the British Commonwealth.

On the question of the supersession of the Courts there can be no difference of opinion. Provisions

such as those of the Immigrants Regulation Act, the Native Administration Act or the Riotous Assemblies Amendment Act can only fill us with sorrow and shame that successive South African Governments can introduce, and the South African people tamely accept, legislation so completely subversive of sound legal principles and so dangerous to the liberty of the subject.

Illustrative reference has been made to the Native Administration Act, which virtually puts the whole Native population under a system of *droit administratif* reminiscent of the worst days of the Second Empire. The reference was made advisedly, for it is in the field of Native administration that the battle of public freedom will have to be fought in South Africa, and so unpopular a field is that, that we are likely to find very dangerous precedents accumulating which will one day transform the rule of law into the rule of Ministers—a sorrowful transformation.

The Civil Service in its own field is essential to the well-being of a modern State. Its importance and the value of its work can hardly be exaggerated. To secure its independence and efficiency must be one of the primary aims of any group or party of workers for South Africa. It may supplement, but must not supersede, the work of the legislature. It encroaches on the functions of the Judiciary only at great peril both to itself and to the public. Its abuse is as dangerous to the state as its normal service is in the highest degree salutary and important.

Chapter III.

DEFENCE AND POLICE.

By R. F. Currey.

"Our object is to provide for our defence in such a way and on such a scale and on such a basis that other nations will be warned off in advance. . . . . I ask the House to rise to the occasion and give effect to the spirit of Patriotism which is to-day moving in South Africa." In these words General Smuts on 23rd February, 1912, moved the Second Reading of the Bill which a few months later was to become the South African Defence Act.

On this Act the whole Defence policy of the Union is based. The ends it was intended to secure were ambitious, as we have seen from the words of its author quoted above. Perhaps they were even extravagant. But if we grant that the objects were both desirable and practicable, of the merits of the Defence Act there can be no question. In the comparative study of similar Acts which is made by the authorities of the British Army Staff College at Camberley, it is held up as the very model of what a Defence Act should be.

The date of the passage of the Act is of importance for two reasons. The Act was, and was intended to be, the choicest apple of the first-fruits of Union. In the two years since the proclamation of the Union the

first fine careless rapture had well-nigh disappeared. Parliament had discovered that the discussion of provincial finance, miners' phthisis, bilingualism, and a score of minor questions had an alarmingly disruptive effect, and it was with a sense of relief that Parliament and the country turned their attention to a problem where provincial and racial animosities were less likely to be felt.

But 1912 was an important date in all military history, marking as it does the penultimate stage of that frenzied arming of the nations which preceded the outbreak of the Great War. Europe was turning itself into one vast armed camp; the diplomatic manoeuvring for position was scarcely concealed; the coming of "der Tag" was clearly only a matter of time.

The whole debate makes curious reading after a lapse of eighteen years. General Smuts appears to have taken it for granted that the principle of the Bill was already accepted by the House and the country, as indeed it seems to have been. Only cursorily and at the very end of his speech did he devote a sentence or two to defending his main thesis that the defence of South Africa called for a small "regular" striking force and a large Citizen Army, in which from 25,000 to 30,000 men were to be under arms at a time. Replying later to the debate, he said that it had been to him "a moral education"; and reading it over now one cannot help wondering how and why. Much of it was taken up with personal reminiscences, of a

not very illuminating kind, by members who had fought on one side or the other in the War that was still so recent. Perhaps General Smuts wished to bring the country to feel—as he seems clearly to have felt himself—that the Citizen Army was in itself to become a great moral training-ground for the nation. The German military writers of the period, and notably Field Marshal von der Goltz, whose classical *Volk im Waffen* was being much read at the time, stress this view very strongly, and General Smuts seems, perhaps unconsciously, to have imbibed their ideas. Along with the purely military purposes which the Act was intended to serve there was also present to his mind a wider, national purpose—the effect on the character of the nation as a whole, and not merely on the young men serving in the Citizen Force, of the presence of such a Force in our midst. "I am sure," said General Smuts, "that nothing will bind the people of this country together more than such a system as this."

On this Act, as has been said, the Defence of South Africa, in theory at any rate, still depends. The first of its clauses lays down that "Every citizen shall be liable between his 17th and 60th year . . . . . to render in time of War personal service in any part of South Africa, whether within or outside the Union." It would be hard to find a valuable principle enunciated in clearer language. Whatever our views of War may be, however much we may regard it (as the present writer regards it) as the last and worst of human disasters, we would all admit that once it has broken

out the State should have a right to the "personal services" of all its citizens.

The Act then proceeds to classify the various branches into which the military and naval forces of the Union fall. These are:

(a) Rifle Associations.
(b) The Permanent Force.
(c) The Coast Garrison Force.
(d) The Active Citizen Force.
(e) The Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve.
(f) The Cadet Force.

The theory of this organization is a most skilful one, for it aims at getting from each section of the population that form of military service to which it is itself, by tradition and environment, best adapted. Thus the Rifle Associations are intended to carry on in the countryside the old Republican Commando system. The new Rifle Associations were to be the old Commandos, with the greater organization, discipline and training which the course of the late War had shown to be necessary. The officers are chosen by election from the ranks; the burghers wear no uniform; and each in need would supply his own horse, saddle and bridle.

The "Permanent Force" was to consist of five regiments of the new "South African Mounted Rifles." Very wisely General Smuts looked for help and guidance in this connection to that admirable military body, the Cape Mounted Rifles, who had for so many years preserved peace and order along

the Eastern marches of the old Cape Colony. The disappearance of the C.M.R., with its great military tradition and its invaluable experience in the policing of native areas, is one of the larger items to be put down on the debit side of the Union ledger. It was recruited with great care and discrimination from the widest possible field, and its officers were appointed by promotion from the ranks. In the Great War many of these rose to positions of great responsibility, and the name of Delville Wood must always be associated with that great Commanding Officer of the C.M.R. who was later selected to command one of the famous half-dozen "shock" divisions of the British Armies in France. Speaking of the C.M.R. General Smuts described its character exactly when he said, "It is primarily a police force, and most of its duties are police duties, but it is also intended to be a striking force in time of need." His original scheme was to take over the C.M.R. and merge it in the new S.A.M.R., to which there were now to be added 2000 of the rural police, who were to be organized on the C.M.R. model.

The Coast Garrison Force was intended to be a small, but important and obvious part of the new organization. Hitherto Great Britain had made herself responsible for the coast defences of the vital Cape Peninsula, and this responsibility, together with the defences of Durban, was now to be assumed by the Union.

The Active Citizen Force was to be the shaft of the spear, of which the Permanent Force was to be the head. It was designed largely on the Swiss model, with modifications taken over from the English " Territorial " system. It fell naturally and effectively into two sections ; for it contemplated the organization of the mainly English-speaking youth of the towns in infantry battalions, whilst the mainly Afrikaans-speaking youths of the countryside were to do their military service in mounted infantry regiments. It was to be recruited by a system of qualified conscription. Every lad was compelled by law to " register " during the January following his seventeenth birthday, and had to state on his registration form whether or no he was prepared to volunteer for service. Fifty per cent. of the total number registered in each of thirteen " military districts " were to be called up for service annually, and wherever the local quota was not filled by voluntary enlistment the deficiency was to be made up by " balloting " from amongst those who had not volunteered.

The period of training was to be four years, with thirty days' training in each year, made up of continuous and non-continuous periods. In the Amending Act of 1922 it is laid down that in the first year there shall be a period of not more than fifty days' continuous training and two periods of not more than thirty-six days, taken together, in the other three years. Actually Defence Force continuous training camps, since the Act was passed, have lasted for not more than ten days.

The Cadet system, which was already quite firmly established in certain parts of the country, was to be extended throughout the Union, and service in it was originally intended to be obligatory on every schoolboy. The various detachments are officered by their own schoolmasters, and are subject to inspection by the officer commanding the local military district. The Cadets are the one part of the Defence Force which, after eighteen years, is functioning more or less as was intended by those who framed the Act. It is perhaps as well that it should be doing so. The movement is open to certain objections (though it is not likely, as is sometimes suggested, to inculcate any love of militarism in these young soldiers), but it does provide a valuable training in that external discipline which is not unneeded in South Africa. There are to-day almost 50,000 Cadets undergoing training in the Union. Schoolmasters may well sigh for some new Baden Powell to arise who will devise for older boys some form of " military service " inspired with the spirit of the Boy Scout movement, which has done so much for their younger brothers.

In 1913 the Act was put into operation, and Parliament voted over a million and a quarter pounds for Defence. General Smuts threw himself into the task of organizing the new Citizen Force out of all but nothing, and General Beyers, one of the most distinguished of the fighting generals in the late war, and destined to figure with tragic prominence in the disastrous events that lay so very near, became

Commandant-General. The work of organization and training proceeded smoothly and effectively for twelve months. In January, 1914, when the Government felt it necessary to proclaim Martial Law in certain areas affected by industrial disturbances on the mines and railways, the Defence Force was called out, and it was not found necessary to bring in the aid of the Imperial garrison troops, as had been done in a similar situation six months previously. Whatever the rights and wrongs of the particular dispute may have been, from a purely military point of view the occasion was an important one. South Africa realized that in its own Defence Force it now had an effective military instrument.

But in August of the same year the infant Defence Force, along with most of the armies and navies of the world, was whirled into a vortex which destroyed completely, and apparently finally, the form its creators had intended it to take. The subsequent course of events is now a matter of history, and there is no need to retell the tale here. Suffice it to say that since 1919 the task of the Ministry of Defence has been to adapt itself and its resources to a changed situation in a changed world. But through all these vicissitudes the Defence Act, unaltered in every essential save one, remains on the Statute Book, and is still in theory the basis and charter of our National Defence.

But it is so in theory only, and for the greater part it has become a monument of dead-letter legislation. The one important change brought about by the

Amending Act of 1922 was the deletion of the clause empowering the Governor-General to assign certain areas to the Permanent Force for police duties. The whole idea of the "permanent striking force" has now been abandoned, and the imposing five regiments of Mounted Riflemen are no more. The Active Citizen Force has dwindled to eleven infantry battalions, all drawn from the towns, and five mounted regiments, of which one comes from the Witwatersrand and the other four from Natal, with five Citizen Batteries and certain "services". Of the Infantry battalions only one (the Durban Light Infantry) has the full strength of an English line battalion (approximately 1000 men), one other has over 500 men, one over 400, five less than 400, and three less than 300. The average strength of the mounted regiments is 283 men. The Rifle Associations, though the figures on paper are imposing enough, have only just over 5000 men receiving a bare minimum of training in the "special training squadrons"; and of these squadrons the Chief of the General Staff complains that "they have not been the success anticipated." In the whole Active Citizen Force there are now 405 officers and 7,575 men undergoing training. Had the 1912 Act been in full operation, there would have been 30,000 men under training at a time, and each year 7,500 trained men would have been passing out into the Reserve. The present Minister of Defence has calculated that the cost of enforcing the Act would be not less than £2,000,000 annually.

The Permanent Force, which was to have been the striking arm of the Union, has become in fact, if we except the Artillery and two other important services not fully anticipated by the Act of 1912, a merely Administrative and Instructional Corps, consisting of 79 officers and 424 other ranks.

The two important exceptions are of course the Air Force and the Naval Service. The former is without doubt the pride and glory of the country's military services. It is small, but immensely efficient, with many magnificent achievements to its credit, and the reputation of our Flying Officers stands as high as those of any country. The South African Air Force seems indeed to be admirably adapted to meet any call that the defence of the country might at any time make upon it.

The South African Naval Service is also a new departure. It consists, according to the usual naval practice, of an imaginary Headquarters vessel ("His Majesty's South African Ship *Afrikander*"), three small vessels, the *Immortelle* and *Sonneblom* (both mine-sweepers), and the *Protea*, which is engaged on hydrographical survey. The Government also makes a contribution towards the cost of maintenance of the training ship *General Botha*, the munificent gift of a private donor to South Africa. The protagonists of a "South African Naval Service" maintain that even so slight a fleet as this is of value, since it helps to keep alive that love of seafaring, which is characteristic of both the races of which the South African nation

is composed. With the exception of the useful work of hydrographical survey, one may, without disparagement of the officers and men of the Service, question its strictly naval value. In the event of hostilities it seems unlikely that either friend or foe would feel obliged to take it into any serious calculation.

What has happened, then, is, in effect, this. The Act of 1912 based the National Defence on two main arms—a relatively small permanent " striking force," half police and half military in character, and a relatively large " citizen army." The Amending Act of 1922 relieved the Permanent Force of all responsibility for police duties. This twofold policy has now been abandoned, though the Act embodying its principles remains. The policy of successive Ministers of Defence during the last twelve years has at last taken the form of " scrapping " the striking force and maintaining the citizen army on a very greatly reduced scale, in a few infantry battalions and mounted regiments, of which several are merely skeleton *cadres*.

Let us admit that the task facing the various Ministers of Defence has been a most difficult one. They have had to administer an Act which presupposed a certain world situation, full of grim forebodings ; and that situation has passed away—as we hope, never to return. It presupposed, too, a public which was prepared to spend generously and even lavishly on National Defence—and that the public, happily or unhappily, is no longer prepared to do. And it presupposed, thirdly, the presence on our western borders of a colony

belonging to what was then the world's most powerful military nation—and that potentially dangerous neighbour is no longer there.

If the political changes that have occurred since 1912 are striking, the changes that have come over all military ideas are not less so. All theories of national defence have now to take into account three factors which were implicitly ignored in the 1912 Act. These are, of course, the machine gun, the aeroplane, and the motor-car. Taken together their effect has been to enforce a conception of strategy as new as that entailed by the discovery of gunpowder.

The volume of fire that can be produced by half-a-dozen " nests " of machine guns in the hands of trained soldiers familiar with the proper tactical handling of this weapon is equal, in its material effects, to that of at least a similar number of companies of riflemen. The moral effect, as we know, is far greater. The obvious lesson, and one with which not only soldiers but civilians also are now acquainted, is that one can to-day do far more in a military sense with a far smaller force than was, or could have been, anticipated in 1912. The machine gun has not merely greatly increased the difficulty of a frontal attack : it has made it a demonstrable impossibility unless the road for the attack has been opened by a long, terrific, and costly bombardment with high explosive shell. The coming of the aeroplane has revolutionized all our previous ideas of scouting and reconnaissance—so that a force properly equipped in this respect may justifiably

regard itself as immune from anything in the nature of major surprise. And it has put into the power of a commander the possibility of delivering long-range attacks from the air on his opponents' headquarters, bases, and depots. Motor transport (provided always that there are roads, however rough, for it to move over) means that infantry can be moved rapidly over great areas. No longer will armies in South Africa play hide and seek with each other for months on end, as was done during the " guerilla " stage of the South African War—for the motor does not require daily periods of rest, as horses do. For purely military reasons it is unfortunate that the story of the rebellion of 1914 is not better known: for it showed unmistakably how great was the need for a strategy and tactics entirely different from those which had proved successful twelve years previously.

In other words, what is needed to-day for the defence of a large, open land, such as our own, is a small, highly trained, lavishly equipped, and carefully distributed force. As we have seen, our present policy is the reverse of this. We are still striving after the almost impossible (and, as we have tried to show, really unnecessary) ideal of a Citizen Army composed of what must be at the very best only semi-trained men.

The remedy, it is here submitted, is a drastic one, but it is neither difficult nor costly. It lies in a return to the strategical conceptions on which the defence of the old Cape Colony was based and which it was

originally hoped to incorporate as part of the Union scheme of defence, though, as we have seen, that hope was never realized. With the "scrapping" of the Active Citizen Force and the handing over of the policing of a large portion of the rural areas of the country, and particularly of the Native Reserves, to Mounted Rifle Regiments, there would be funds and to spare for the raising of five Regiments as originally contemplated in the Act. Actually less than this number would be sufficient: the improvement in technical equipment is more than sufficient to allow for this. Their distribution would depend mainly on strategical considerations, but not entirely. There would be one regiment in Natal with its important Native Reserves, another operating over the Transkei and Ciskei areas, another in or near the industrial area of the Witwatersrand, to name three obvious points. It would probably be desirable that the latter should be a dismounted, highly "mechanized" unit. Some such distribution seems to have been contemplated in the original Act, Section 28 of which lays it down that "the Governor-General may allot to any regiment of the South African Mounted Riflemen, or any part thereof, a portion of the Union wherein it shall be charged with the duty of augmenting or relieving the ordinary police force." These regiments should be recruited locally, so far as there are local men willing to serve and fitted to do so. The principle of local recruitment is an important one. It goes far to ensure that intimate personal familiarity

with the conditions of their work which is so essential in the policing of native areas ; and it reduces the friction inevitable in work of this kind when the native feels that his habits of life and thought are known and understood by the officers of the law with whom he comes in contact. And here, surely, there is an opportunity for practical give and take between the two races : it would be unnecessary and unreasonable to insist that every soldier-policeman stationed in the rural areas of the Transvaal, Free State, or Cape Midlands should talk and write fluent English. Similarly, it would be unnecessary and unreasonable to ask of the Natal and Eastern Cape regiments that they should have more than a rough working knowledge of Afrikaans. And, in the interests of training and that " state pageantry " which democracies sometimes affect to despise, it would obviously be desirable to have a " ceremonial squadron " stationed at Pretoria or Cape Town, according as the Governor-General's Headquarters were at the one or the other of the two capitals. This squadron would be detached for duty for six months at a time, and taken in rotation from each of the regiments. Whether the original idea of attaching a battery to each regiment should be adopted, or whether, in the interests of training, the artillery should be concentrated at one point, can be left to the technical experts to decide.

If this scheme is to succeed it is essential that it should follow very faithfully along the lines of the old C.M.R. Indeed, it is only by doing this that it will

become financially possible, for it depends upon the extensive economies that can be effected by handing over certain areas, and notably the Native Reserves, to the Mounted Regiments for police duties. But this does not mean that the Defence Department should be absorbed in the Department of Justice—for the virtues of a soldier are one thing and the virtues of a policeman another, and the two forces should be separate. Section 12 of the Defence Act defines the status of this force exactly: "In time of peace there shall be allotted to each regiment, or part of a regiment, of South African Mounted Riflemen the duty of maintaining order within such portion of the Union as may be appointed, and when any member of such a regiment is carrying out that duty he shall be capable of exercising all such powers and shall perform all such functions as are by law performed . . . . . by a police officer or constable, ... and shall have the benefits of all the indemnities to which a member of the police force would in like circumstances be entitled."

In passing, we may note that, whilst it is possible to lighten the burden at present falling on the police by handing over the responsibility for certain areas to the Defence Department, a further relief can be afforded them in the urban areas. The rapid increase of motor traffic has meant that a very large and rapidly increasing number of police is being absorbed in the duties of traffic control. This drain on the police resources is not likely to grow less, though mechanical

systems of control may prevent its further rapid increase. To make a policeman there is needed a long, arduous and costly training, for the duties he may have to perform are of the most varied character. To use a man who has been thus trained almost exclusively (as must be done with many constables) in directing traffic seems an extravagant waste of expensive material, to put it mildly. Efficient traffic control calls no doubt for certain special qualities, but these surely can be acquired more rapidly and at a lower cost than by using fully-trained police constables for the purpose. The remedy would seem to lie in making each urban area responsible for its own traffic control by means of its municipal or borough police. The financial relief to the central government would be considerable, and it should be possible to assist municipalities with a subsidy towards the cost of this service. As a people we have very little sense of local responsibility for local government, and the measure suggested would help to arouse us to a sense of our duty in this respect.

But to all that has been said and argued in this chapter it may well be objected that the real problem of defence has been entirely ignored. It has been suggested that what we need in South Africa is not an Army so much as a Police Force, trained on military principles and ready to turn soldiers when need arises. The problem of defence has been treated as if it were purely an internal one ; and any nation in the world would count us happy indeed if we were to reply, as we do, *that that is exactly what it is.*

It is of the first importance, and essential to our self-respect as a nation, that we should realize this clearly. The present Minister of Defence has emphasized it over and over again during his tenure of office. Speaking in 1925 of the possibility of invasion of our shores, he said: "If we were to lose our command of the seas, then we should not have the money or the resources to be adequately prepared against invasion. . . . The fact is that we do enjoy immunity from danger from without, and that is the fact which enables us to regard our defence problem largely from the internal point of view." And a year later he put the same view in equally clear terms: "To-day, when we know that our shores are safe, until some very great change takes place in the balance of sea power in the world, we do not have to provide for sudden invasion by any first-class power." It would be difficult to find clearer language or greater authority, and there is no need to labour the point further.

For it is the simple, indisputable truth that the defence of South Africa against external aggression depends on the Royal Navy. What, if this be so, is our duty? To suggest that we should look to the day, and hasten its coming, when we shall be able to assume the burden of protecting our own shores, is merely fantastic. In the first place, clearly we should do all within our slight power to encourage those movements of international disarmament on which the future peace of the world, and with it, of course, our own peace, must depend. But when disarmament has

been carried as far as it can be carried the high seas will still be policed by His Majesty's Ships, and it is this which will be, then as now, the guarantee of our security. That some share of this burden should be ours need not be argued. The annual cost of the Royal Navy is approximately to-day £55,000,000. To this sum the Union of South Africa made until recently the curious contribution of £85,000, or almost exactly elevenpence per head of the white population of the Union. It was considerably less than the present annual salary bill of the members of the House of Assembly. The sum was arrived at by a strange process of computation. Prior to the Union, the Cape made an annual contribution of £50,000 and Natal one of £35,000 to the Royal Navy, whilst the two inland Colonies made no contribution : since Union succes sive Parliaments for some time voted £85,000 each year for this purpose. Recently even this contribution has disappeared. By taking over the responsibility of maintaining the coastal defence batteries of the Union, and thus relieving the small British garrison still charged with that duty, the Government of the day felt that our obligations were fulfilled, and since then no grant whatever has been made.

The grant mentioned does not at first sight seem a princely one, but it is not suggested here that it was either too great or too small. It is, however, suggested that to settle questions of high policy and principle by this kind of arithmetic, as was done for the first period of Union, shows a lack both of imagination

and of intelligence. Nor is our present policy very convincing. In theory we have undertaken the defence of our own shores by providing the South African Naval Service and the Permanent and Citizen Force Garrison Artilleries. In these two latter bodies there are 373 men all told, and they are all concentrated in the Cape Peninsula. What is clearly needed is that the whole matter should be frankly and fairly discussed amongst the members of the British Commonwealth, starting from the indisputable fact that the safety of each and all depends on the ability of the Navy to police the seas for us. Our situations differ greatly; some of us receive a greater, and some a less measure of protection; some of us have larger and some smaller resources to meet the charge that we must feel is bounden upon us all. But these are matters capable of adjustment: what is needed is a frank acknowledgement by us all that this is a common burden of which each must bear his fair share.

It is interesting in this connection, and bearing in mind our differing situations and resources, to compare how the other Dominions of the Commonwealth fulfil this obligation of which we are speaking. Australia, New Zealand and Canada have all adopted the principle of "local navies," which in time of war are at the disposal of the British Government. The Royal Australian Navy consists of 4 cruisers, an aircraft carrier, a flotilla leader, 11 destroyers, 2 ocean-going submarines and 3 sloops. There are almost 5000 men in the Permanent Naval Force, and the

annual naval vote is just under £2,000,000. New Zealand has 2 cruisers, a training ship, and 2 sloops, and the naval vote is just under £500,000. Moreover, New Zealand is contributing £1,000,000 to the cost of the Singapore Base. Canada has 2 destroyers and 4 minesweeping trawlers, and a Permanent Naval Force of 550 men. The naval vote is rather more than £540,000.

It is sometimes argued that our dependence on the Royal Navy is more apparent than real—that if Great Britain were to refuse all responsibility for our naval protection our situation would be much as it is to-day. Those who argue thus are wont to point to the example of the South American Republics, whose independence, it is asserted, is maintained without any such guarantee as is enjoyed by the members of the British Commonwealth. To this argument there is a twofold answer. In the first place this independence is bought at a price, and a high one. If we consider four of the leading South American Republics—the Argentine, Chili, Brazil and Peru—we find that all of them have to maintain large, powerful, and costly navies of their own. The Argentine Navy has almost 10,000 men on its active list, and Chili 8,000. Moreover, all these countries feel obliged to impose long-term universal compulsory military service for their land forces. And in the second place it must be remembered that the Monroe Doctrine gives to every American State a degree of security which we certainly should not enjoy if the Royal Navy were not there to protect us.

It remains only to summarize the argument. In thinking out any theory of National Defence it is above all else necessary that it should be thought out with reference to the potential enemies of South Africa and the sum that South Africa is ready and able to spend on Defence. Every other consideration—the moral and physical training of our citizens, the various possible uses of a Defence Force for other than Defence purposes—is entirely irrelevant. If we can secure these things incidentally to providing for our Defence, so much the better : we have tried to show that some, at any rate, of them can and ought to be so provided for. But we must realize that these other things are, and must be, incidental. To lose sight of this is to confuse our whole theory of National Defence : and confused thinking on this subject in time of peace means confused action and inevitable disaster in time of war. We have to ask ourselves, searchingly, " What are all the possible dangers, against which we have to provide military security? What is the minimum force required to ensure us this security? What should the form and distribution of this force be? " If for the answer to some of these questions we must look to the military expert, others as obviously come within the province of the civilian statesman.

The Act of 1912 was designed to meet a certain world situation and a certain world temper, and it was admirably adapted to do so. But that situation and temper have both passed away, and the Act has become an anachronism. Nevertheless it remains in

theory the basis of our National Defence. The Act itself should therefore be repealed or drastically amended. Simultaneously with the change in the political situation there has been a great change in military theory and practice. Technical improvements in armament and transport have made inevitable that "mechanization" of armies which is everywhere taking place. What is needed for the defence of such a country as ours in these days is not a large semi-trained Army, but a small, highly-trained striking force, composed of whole-time professional soldiers. We should therefore put into operation that part of the Defence Act which provides for the establishment of Mounted Regiments, equipped with machine guns and motor transport, to be trained and used as were the old Cape Mounted Rifles. The sum voted for Defence to-day is £992,696: by taking over the policing of certain rural areas and the Native Reserves and by scrapping the Active Citizen Force and Rifle Associations, the cost of this new establishment would be more than met.

And finally it was argued that since any analysis of our defence position makes it clear that for security against external aggression we rely on the Royal Navy, our obligations here are considerable. These obligations can only be fulfilled, or even partially fulfilled, by means of a financial grant. The grant originally made was assessed on no very rational principle, and has now ceased. The whole subject needs to be thought out afresh, and it is submitted that its just

and proper solution demands that it should be considered as part of a common problem by all the members of the British Commonwealth, of whose material safety the Royal Navy remains, now as throughout history, the sure and certain guarantee. What our own share of this burden should be is a matter for discussion amongst us all : but we cannot ask to be relieved of this share entirely and still retain our self-respect as a nation.

[*Note* :—The figures in this paper relating to the Union Defence Force are taken from the Annual Report of the Department of Defence presented to Parliament in 1930. (U.G. 46. '29.) They refer to the year ending 30th June, 1929.]

Chapter IV.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

By Edgar H. Brookes.

South Africa is a country with a long and rich legal tradition behind it. More perhaps than any other land does it combine in its jurisprudence those two streams of Roman and English Law which Lord Bryce in his *Studies in History and Jurisprudence* has characterized as standing alone among the legal systems of the world. Not for nothing is the modern South African descended from the race which gave to the world Grotius, Bynkershoek and Voet. Not for nothing is he descended from the race which in Coke and Hampden, and the men of the Revolution of 1688, enunciated, suffered for and secured the acceptance of the maxim *quod rex non debet esse sub homine, sed sub Deo et lege.*

Moreover, South Africa has been in the past a singularly law-abiding country. Despite the bitter and unedifying colour prejudice that has at times disfigured its public life, there has been no recorded case of lynching. Despite racial quarrels and civil wars almost as deplorable as those of Ireland, there has been no recorded case of political assassination. The very first formal constitutional document of the Voortrekkers contains provisions binding the emigrants

to show respect and obedience to the officers whom they had chosen and to abide by the old Dutch laws of the Colony which they were leaving. The British settlers of 1820 had not been three years in the country before they were engaged in a persistent and ultimately successful controversy with the head of the executive government for the freedom of the press and the limitation of despotic power by law. As for the Bantu, we may from many testimonials to their inherent respect for law select that of Professor Radcliffe Brown, who says : " The Native has the very highest respect for his own law. It is a thing absolutely and entirely sacred to him." Shepstone, administering justice among 100,000 natives in Natal, without police and with a garrison of less than two hundred men, is an instance of Bantu respect for even an alien legal authority, when that authority is known to be honest and of good will. And even to-day law and order in Native territories, where there are no pass regulations to be enforced, are administered by an absurdly small number of police.

Thus equipped with a sound and good tradition, and having had in the past not only a judicial bench of high repute, but an excellent and very respected magisterial service, it might have been expected that South Africa could look forward to the administration of justice in the future with equanimity. Unfortunately such is not the case. The two unhappy influences of political partisanship and colour prejudice have combined to shake public confidence. Moreover,

there has been a decline in the standards of exact and scrupulous honour and honesty in our public life which it would be easy to exaggerate but which it is impossible to ignore ; and there is danger of this decline reacting upon the administration of the law. The verdicts of some of the juries, and the advice sometimes tendered by Ministers in regard to the prerogative of mercy, have resulted in a general feeling that crimes of violence against Natives are matters for comparatively lenient punishment, and that sentences on any type of offender may be modified to suit political exigencies. There is a feeling of disquiet in regard to certain aspects of our police administration, whilst scandals in the Prisons Department are now the subject of a special inquiry. In brief, the administration of justice in its several aspects is to-day causing anxiety, and few of our national needs are more urgent than the re-establishment of full confidence in the competent and impartial administration of the law.

The chief criticism to be levelled at our Magistrates' Courts relates to the handling of Native cases, and may be ascribed partly to the ignorance of Bantu ideas of law and procedure, but mainly to lack of time and a general atmosphere of rush. These faults are little, if at all, discoverable in the Transkeian Territories, and are most marked in the larger towns of the Northern Provinces.

A list of the differences made in the treatment of Natives and Europeans in the Magistrates' Courts is not inconsiderable, but fortunately many points are

unimportant. If some Magistrates are less patient and less courteous than the majority, that is only natural; nor is it perhaps to be wondered at that, speaking generally, the presence of a harsh and unpleasant personality on the magisterial bench has more unsatisfactory consequences where the accused is a Native than where he is a European. It is unfortunate that Natives should be crowded into less commodious cells than are Europeans, but the point is of relatively little importance; it would not matter much that the Natives are huddled collectively, if only they were not hustled individually.

It is not easy to describe this process of "hustle." It consists of a mass of details. A Native under arrest, at any rate in some of our larger towns, does not walk from one place to another: he is pushed. He is not told to halt—he is grabbed and held.

This attention is lavished upon the accused even in open Court, when he stands up to answer the charge, and it is extremely disconcerting to him, as indeed it would be to persons with a far clearer grasp of the situation than the average Native. People tend to overlook the fact that this is an element of the utmost importance in the procedure.

Natives frequently cannot epitomize a contention or present it clearly. Whatever they advance is shrouded (as it would be quite naturally in a Chief's Court) in irrelevant narration, and the legitimate anxiety of the officers to eliminate such matter in saving time and speeding up the procedure often results in the elimin-

ation holus-bolus of a good defence as well. "What has that got to do with it?" the Magistrate may rap out crossly. The Native does not know whether the Court realizes what he is going to say or not. He may, he fears, be increasing his sentence by going on. Anyway his opening seems to be unwelcome, and he abandons his point.

The same thing may happen when the accused is asked to cross-examine a witness. He wishes to put a position to the witness, and his only way is to describe the whole position replete with detail, intending finally to ask: "Isn't that so?" He is stopped at once. "You can't stand here and tell a long story. You must ask questions," says the Magistrate, and this information in the mouth of the interpreter probably becomes a strident command to "Ask! Ask!" Even practitioners are not thus forced into the difficult process of direct interrogation, and cross-examination by a Native is rendered farcical by it.

Many of these difficulties spring from a lack of knowledge on the part of the Native of the procedure in European Courts, and perhaps also on the part of many Magistrates of customary Native procedure. Some of them are probably inevitable. It would help if Magistrates were encouraged to acquire as adequate a knowledge as possible of the procedure of tribal Native Courts. But the fundamental difficulty is lack of time. One of the Witwatersrand Magistrates was recently held up to public admiration by a Johannesburg newspaper for having dealt with the record number of

over five hundred cases in one day. The overwhelming majority of these cases is made up of charges against Natives, and if there is no time for both, it is the European case which tends to be " heard " and the Native case to be " polished off."

Nearly all these Native cases are connected with the infraction of some regulation or other which is only technically an " offence." The most frequent charge is contravention of the Pass Laws. And here some slight attention may be paid to these laws and their effect. For very little general advantage—for they can be, and are, easily " got round " by the clever Native criminal—these laws are causing vast expenditure of public money, are congesting the Magistrates' Courts, filling the prisons, demoralizing the police force in its contact with Natives, destroying imprisonment as an effective sanction against real Native crime, and undermining one of the most valuable and useful Bantu characteristics—respect for law and its agents. Under the Native Administration Act of 1927, the Government has the power to repeal or modify these Laws without the necessity of obtaining further authority from Parliament. That power should be used.

The enforcement of the Pass and other laws is carried out by the Police in a way that calls for criticism. Quite an ordinary routine carried out on a Sunday afternoon in the large towns of the Northern Provinces is that Natives are stopped by every policeman they meet and their passes demanded. Extensive " raids "

have been embarked upon, in one of which at least untrained recruits were mingled with the police. Doors have been burst open and Natives taken from their beds. Dozens of Natives have in such raids been arrested, against whom, after hours of detention, no charge has been made. Perfectly innocent persons have been dragged off to prison and not infrequently " manhandled " in the process.

One special case of " manhandling " may be quoted here. A Native was charged with the murder of his European master. The accused exercised his right to be tried by a Judge and two assessors, was found guilty and sentenced to death. In his report on the case the Judge said *inter alia* : " I do not feel that the Magistrate's finding that the condemned prisoner was not assaulted by any member of the police force at ———— is correct. I think that the question of carrying out the death sentence should be dealt with on the assumption that the accused was illegally thrashed by the police in order to induce him to return to the service of an employer whom he greatly disliked, and that resentment at having been thus forced into the deceased's service and some feeling of desperation as to his prospects of ever getting away from deceased's service afforded the motive for the commission of this crime. I submit, therefore, that notwithstanding the gravity of the crime which he undoubtedly committed, there is good ground for commuting the death sentence, in view of the youth and ignorance of the condemned man and the serious grievance which must have been

rankling in his mind. Had I had before me at the trial all the information which is now available, I should have added to my verdict a recommendation to mercy." It may not be without interest to add that, in spite of this plea, the Native in question was hanged.

The Police force corporately have often displayed admirable restraint in the face of hostile Native crowds. But those very crowds have become hostile as a result very largely of " raids " and other details of Pass Law administration, and of individual mishandling by unsupervised young policemen, who are not always free from the prejudice of the less educated white man against Natives.

We need to remember these words of Professor Radcliffe Brown, to which reference has already been made. "After all, the important thing about law is its prestige. . . . . It is rather dangerous to shake the Native's view and to teach him that law is a thing which need not be regarded as sacred. . . . . It seems desirable to transfer to our law that sacredness with which he regards his own."

One point which affects inferior and superior Courts alike is that of interpretation. The Courts enjoy the services of some interpreters of the highest skill, but too often interpreters are poorly qualified and really stand between the Native and the light of justice.

A recent Transvaal case turned entirely upon the question as to whether the Chief had or had not the *legal* obligation to call his people together for consultation upon a certain point. The Court asked, "*Must*

the Chief call his people?" This the interpreter rendered by "*A kgoshi e soanetse go bitsa batho ba gagwe?*" (i.e. "*Should* the Chief call his people?")

Such very material errors must be of frequent occurrence. To some extent error is unavoidable wherever interpretation has to be used; but much good could be done by raising the status and salary of interpreters, European and Native alike, and by insisting not only on general education and a good moral character, but on linguistic knowledge of a very high standard and a specialized training. In short, interpretation should become a profession.

We pass to the question of the jury system. With that system in general we are not disposed to quarrel, although we are of opinion that its virtues have been overrated by some panegyrists too sentimentally attracted by Magna Charta and the history of English liberties. The real value of the jury is, however, generally appreciated by the judicial bench, and there is no strong or effective criticism directed against the system in itself. On all hands, however, it is agreed that it does not give substantial equality of justice between white and black. This is not a hurried conclusion drawn from two or three particularly bad cases, but is the considered opinion of men who have compared verdicts in crimes of violence committed by Natives on Europeans and Europeans on Natives for many years.[3] The Legislature itself has recognized

[3] See *inter alia* "Memorandum on the Administration of Justice, with special reference to the Native population" prepared by the Pretoria Joint Council, to which this chapter is greatly indebted.

that some departure must be made from the strict theory of the older system by allowing the accused to demand trial by a Judge and two assessors instead of by the jury. A Native accused of a crime of violence against a European has by this method been effectively protected against the possibility of an unfair verdict being given by a prejudiced and perhaps excited European jury. But the reverse remedy is lacking, and Europeans charged with the murder of natives, when not acquitted, are generally found guilty of some comparatively minor offence, e.g., common assault.

The only remedy appears to be the automatic suspension of the jury system in all cases where men of one colour are charged with crimes of violence against men of another colour. This remedy is open to the theoretical objection that the individual is deprived of the right to demand trial by his peers; nevertheless it seems as if substantial justice and respect for law can best be served by the partial sacrifice of the time-honoured jury, as a ship may jettison with regret valuable cargo as the only way of escaping from winds and waves and reaching the haven where she would be.

There is no question that many jurors realize their responsibility to the full, and also that the intensity of colour prejudice differs in different parts of the country; nevertheless no satisfactory method has been evolved of differentiating between juror and juror or between district and district. The Rhodesian experi-

ment of a special jury list for such cases, even if it were otherwise satisfactory, would not be greeted with favour in the less aristocratically-minded Union. For many reasons the admission of Natives as jurors would not provide a solution. The only effective remedy which would stand any chance of acceptance is the complete abolition of the jury as regards the type of case under discussion.

The confidence of South Africans in their bench of Judges is very great. Nevertheless if complete confidence is to continue the possibility of some better method of appointing Judges than the present one, which leaves the matter wholly in the hands of the Government of the day, should not be ignored.

The system of entrusting the nomination of Judges to the Crown—or in practice, to the Cabinet—has, it is urged, worked well in Great Britain. In South Africa it has elevated to the Bench great lawyers, who had previously borne a prominent part in political life. Why should we, then, depart from it?

There are many reasons for change. Party feeling has become bitter enough in South Africa. The decline of public standards of probity and honour has, exactly as Dr. MacGregor Dawson points out in the case of Canada, in his *Principle of Official Independence*, reacted unfavourably on objective standards of appointment to positions of an independent character. In a country with a large population like England, even if Judges are nominated with some reference to their

party affiliations, there are still sufficient eligible and willing candidates to enable a selection to be made which would do no violence to the ideal of maximum competence. This may not always be possible in a country with a small population, and experience in Canada has shown that strong party feeling may sometimes overcome even so mighty a force as that of professional tradition.

American experience bears out what common sense would lead one to anticipate, that it is futile to expect to obtain a better Bench by substituting popular election for nomination, and lay feeling would certainly, if illogically, be up in arms against election by the legal profession. Could the Bench be made the electing body co-opting Judges to fill vacancies as they occur?

Two other possibilities present themselves. Either the choice of the Government might be subject to veto by the Bench, or the Bench might suggest, say, three names out of which the Government would have the right to select one.

South Africa, like other parts of the world, is suffering from an increasing measure of "administrative justice"; that is to say, there is a growing body of statute law under which decisions which materially affect the rights of individuals are arrived at by ordinary civil service officials or by the Minister in charge of a particular department. We feel that this tendency is a dangerous one. It is doubtless often thought to be convenient that questions which affect the state as

well as the individual should be decided rather by those concerned with the administration of the department affected than by Courts of Law. But where individual rights are seriously involved it is not desirable that a Minister should be at once prosecutor, judge, jury and policeman. The Rule of Law is a great heritage and is not lightly to be interfered with. A people may indeed have the simple faith in political leaders so well depicted in Visser's *Rose van Herinnering*:

> " Sy volk sal hom vereer, vertrou,
> Die toekoms in sy hande laat,
> Vir hom sal hulle glo al sou . . . . .
> Al sou hy ook die waarheid praat ? "

But we may be excused from sharing these unsuspicious sentiments, and permitted to insist on the modification of democracy implied in the existence of professional Judges, which almost all civilized states have learned to accept as the greatest safeguard of the individual's rights and liberties.

We cannot leave the subject of the administration of justice without a brief reference to methods of punishment. The commonest punishment in South Africa is imprisonment. Thousands of Natives go through our prisons annually, generally for technical offences. They are frequently given the option of a fine, but the fine in general is so high in proportion to income that the Native has no choice but

to go to gaol. Moreover, as no moral offence is involved in a breach of the Pass Law, one of the strongest sanctions of imprisonment—the moral disapprobation of one's neighbours—does not operate. The cost of maintaining thousands of Natives in prison is high. The punishment is defensible from no point of view. It is not justifiable on the theory of retribution, for it is out of all proportion to the " crime." It is not a deterrent ; and it is the reverse of reformative.

The simplest way of improving matters would be to reduce the number of technical offences to a minimum, and to lessen the fines until they become possible alternatives of imprisonment.

As for prison administration itself, though the Prisons Department has been eager to try new methods, recent events have shown that there is room for improvement. We need officers to specialize in prison work, and the proposal now in contemplation to end the autonomous existence of the Prisons Department and to absorb it into the Department of Justice is to be regretted as a retrograde move.

A final point requires mention. There is room for a change in regard to the prerogative of mercy, on the lines of making any remission of sentences reviewable by a Board of Judges. Such a change would prevent the recurrence of cases like the one which recently occurred when the Minister released after a week's imprisonment a person found guilty of fraud in connection with a letter used at an election in favour

of a candidate belonging to the Minister's party, and sentenced by a competent Court to imprisonment for three months. This is not an isolated case, and the advice tendered by the Government in regard to the exercise of the prerogative of mercy has for long been the subject of dissatisfied comment.

By changes such as these our administration of justice may be maintained in a state such that we need never feel doubtful when we recollect Justinian's definition of law as "the art of the just and good."

Chapter V.

EDUCATION AND RESEARCH.

By T. J. Haarhoff and R. F. Currey.

Quot homines, tot sententiae—is there anything to which this applies so much as to education? Because almost everybody has had some experience of education, almost everybody imagines himself an authority on it; and the expert (of whom it has been said that he is a man who concentrates more and more on less and less, until he finally just concentrates) often produces in this sphere his strangest delusions. "Not if I had a hundred tongues or a voice of iron," as the epic poet says, could all the various aspects of national education be touched on in this paper. Much must be necessarily omitted or left fragmentary; and it can hardly escape a writer, however confident, that on such a subject, above all, it is easy indeed to counsel perfection, but hard to practise it.

Much has been heard in recent times of vocational training and of education that is called "practical." There can be no doubt that there was need for provision in this direction. But in their enthusiasm some people have come to see in the very real and wonderful technical progress of modern times an index of spiritual progress (a complete fallacy) or a proof that the things of the mind are unreal; and they seem to imagine that "practical education" is the only kind that

matters, and that it stands to other sorts as the stern realities of life stand to a pleasant but evanescent moonshine. Yet if we agree that a state educates primarily for citizenship,[1] and only secondarily for vocations or research, it must be seen that the distinction is an arbitrary one. We hear complaints that the academic man despises practical training: on the other hand, it is becoming almost necessary to protect him against the scorn of the man of the world. Both kinds of contempt are as wrong as they are irrelevant.

For what is education? *Educatio*, Dr. Mackail pointed out some years ago, does not mean etymologically the drawing out of what is in the child's mind, and is not derived (as our text-books say) from *e*, out, and *duco*, I lead; that is philologically improbable; but it is possibly to be connected with *Educa*, an ancient Italian goddess of infant nutrition; so that it means exactly what our Afrikaans "opvoeding" expresses, the furnishing of the proper mental food. And this leads to the conception of growth—an idea recently emphasized by the Secretary for Education. Education consists in providing guidance for the healthy spiritual, mental and physical growth of the various individuals who form the community. It is in this sense that training for citizenship comes first: for the citizen is more than the wage-earner

[1] The word is used throughout this chapter in its widest sense and does not exclude the idea of the Augustine "Civitas Dei." Compare the words of Cicero in the *Republic*: "What is the end of education? To make good and useful citizens."

and more also than the research worker. When an extreme advocate of vocational training advises us to educate a bottle-washer in nothing but bottle-washing and contends that only so can he cope with the specialization of modern times, he forgets that the pupil may end by breaking bottles over the heads of his fellow-citizens. For the sake of life in the narrow sense, he destroys the real motives of living, which is what Juvenal meant by his famous *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*. If you make a man into a machine and suppress his humanity, you may end (as the brothers Capek showed in their Robot play, and as Samuel Butler had shown before them) by manufacturing machines that will destroy society. Neither should we support the idea of training men for the life of isolated contemplation, the *Bios Theoretikos*, which even so practical a man as Aristotle considered the highest. We should rather agree with Cicero that a man should not lose sight of the fact that he is a citizen; which does not mean, however, that he is to refrain from pursuing investigations disinterestedly and for sheer love of truth. For, apart from the spiritual advantages to any state of this attitude of mind, it is a mere fact of history that many of our most valued material inventions have come to us from the disinterested research-worker. Lord Kelvin, investigating a mathematical formula, started a train of enquiry that led to the invention of wireless; our telegraphs and telephones come, in origin, from the purely scientific zeal of Faraday; X-rays were

an accidental product of quite "unpractical" research; and even so common and so useful a thing as the gas-mantle was not invented by a practical industrialist. So that, even on the lower plane of material advantage, the research-worker is justified; Archimedes at the siege of Syracuse could not have invented his engines of war had he not been a pure mathematician first. Seek first the Kingdom of Truth, and these other things will be added unto you.

It is necessary to make this apologia because educational authorities have recently told us that the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake ceased in the Middle Ages, and a doctrine commonly laid down in Normal Colleges insists that all education should be directed to a practical need. There is malaria, they say, and men set themselves experimenting until they find a remedy. But this is only one type of research; and it may be claimed that history shows the more valuable type to be the one described above. If you narrow your range too much and look too closely for the immediately profitable, you may suffer the fate of the man whose goose laid golden eggs.[1] In a great work of art (says "Longinus") there must be some-

[1] Of the questions asked by the Lewis Committee and quoted with approval in *Britain's Industrial Future*, 1928, p. 390, the report of the Liberal Industrial Inquiry, on which distinguished men like J. M. Keynes and Sir John Simon served: "Can the conception of the juvenile as primarily a wage-earner be replaced by the conception of the juvenile as primarily the workman and the citizen in training? Can it be established that the educational purpose is to be the dominating one, without as well as within the school doors, during those formative years between twelve and eighteen?" On p. 391 we find the statement: "Agreement is in sight on the principle that education must be organized so that, in the words of the Hadow Report, it may 'develop more fully the powers of the great mass of boys and girls whose character and intelligence will determine the quality of national life.'"

thing that is overlooked ; and education is the greatest work of art attempted by the State. The real test of education is what a man does with his leisure, and this he will be apt to abuse unless he has an interest beyond and above his vocation.

But, of course, this justification of scientific research on the ground of practical utility is the least of the arguments in its favour. In a lecture delivered recently at the Centenary Celebrations of the University of Cape Town, Professor Jolly pointed out that the advance of science was not something inevitable, that there had been great periods in human history when scientific studies lapsed and that such periods may recur. " What," he proceeded to ask, " is the temper of the human mind which will give an opportunity for science to advance ? " And he suggested the following answer : " The chief requisite is to have the scientific attitude of mind. The Greeks possessed this : they had the desire and the power to see the world as it really is. The only ideal that is really fruitful in science is the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake."

And there is another aspect of the scientific spirit. Living as we do in an age when the power of headlines (as Mr. Chesterton laments) is in sharp contrast to the power of headwork, we may be tempted to sympathize with the exclamation of Blake : "He who generalizes is a fool ! " On the other hand, the progress of science is built on generalizations. But between the genuine generalization and that which is based

on hearsay or prejudice there is a whole heaven of difference. For the former is based on a spirit which is above all patient, swayed by no emotion except love of the truth, deaf to promptings such as those of racial prejudice and of blind sentiments that seek justification by claiming to be "national." It is one of the functions of an educational system to help its alumni to distinguish between the two sorts of generalization: and that can be done by means of the spirit that may be called scientific in a broader sense and that should pervade all forms of study. "An educated man," said Lord Morley, "knows when a thing is proved: an uneducated man does not"; and there is a special danger to-day that amid the spate of printed matter, the Outlines of Everything, and the flaunting of quack philosophies, the habit of offering ancient thought disguised as something original and new, our pupils may be led, like Glaukos in the *Iliad*, to exchange the gold of truth for the bronze of brittle rhetoric. Plato knew that the unexamined life is not worth living: it is only the scientific spirit that will cure the prevalent superficiality and induce people to think things out.

Histories (and our newspapers) are full of phrases like "Punica fides," "perfidious Albion," "the slim Boer," "the lazy Kafir," and the like, uttered by nations in moments of pride or fear and generally based on misunderstanding. In our own country generalizations of this kind have done an immense amount of harm. An individual often sees another as

part of such a generalization, and, as a result, all his dealings with him are clouded with mental reservations and suspicions. As knowledge and understanding increase, however, the generalization is frequently seen to be false. Is it not time that we approached racial questions in the scientific spirit (which does not imply holding the tenets of any particular science) and adopted a method of induction, so that we should proceed from the individual to the general principle (if there is one) and not start from an unscientific universal? Indeed, it would be well if we regarded racial generalizations, instead of races, with extreme suspicion, and, when we think we have a true formulation, lock it up for at least nine years. Education (particularly in the teaching of history) should not fail to inculcate the scientific spirit for the peculiarly difficult problems of South African Citizenship.

If education, then, means the guidance of a growth, and if it is primarily directed to the production of the good citizen, it must concern us in at least four aspects : (1) in regard to the individual, (2) in regard to the educational institutions of the state, (3) in regard to the nation, (4) in regard to other nations ; and it is incumbent on the educators to do at least two things : (1) to discriminate and select the different kinds of talents and aptitudes, and (2) to provide opportunities for the harmonious growth of each particular aptitude.

Growth is a wide term, and for the individual it must include not only knowledge, but also some part of what we call wisdom—a point recognized by the

University Commission of 1928. "Wisdom," said Hooker in Landor's *Imaginary Conversations*, "consisteth not in knowing many things, nor even in knowing them thoroughly; but in choosing and following what most surely conduceth to our lasting happiness and true glory. And this wisdom, my Lord of Verulam, cometh from above." Yet those who have received it from above may sometimes instil it here below; and it is the business of education to promote the likelihood of such instilling.

Now, if there is one thing that is hostile to a sane and wise attitude, it is lack of perspective, ignorance of historical continuity, over-narrow specialization. And these are the things that are with us to-day. To some extent, we share them with the countries of Europe, for the distresses of the war had the natural effect of making people concentrate on the present and only on the present. But, just as no literature can hope to endure if it is not directly or indirectly rooted in the past, so an educational system, being a growth, must have stabilizing and nurturing roots that go far into the past. We hear much of our modernity: there is the new woman, the new psychology, "New Thought"; but if we search we find that most of these things are not new at all, but only newly rediscovered, and sometimes damaged in the process. The most original and the newest thing stands in a succession; and so we, as far as our culture goes, stand on the shoulders of the ancients. It is not enough that we should know our immediate

past : that past itself is unexplained without a knowledge of the further past. The original river of European culture has divided into many streams ; and, whereas what happens in one of these (French, or German, or Italian, or Spanish, or some other) need not affect European culture as a whole, what happened further up necessarily affects all of them.[1] It is therefore important to know the stream at its source. While our intellectual and artistic culture flows mostly from the ancient world of Greece and Rome, it is the Hebrew stream that brought us our religion. That, too, is an ancient and a precious heritage ; and it is well that we should remind ourselves how much the Church did for education when she adopted the machinery of the Roman Empire and civilized while she Christianized our rude Germanic forbears. Nor should we forget the work of the Church in South Africa. The education of the native has been attempted largely by the Church or at the instigation of the Church ; the successful labour colony at Kakamas is one of several indications of the Dutch Reformed Church's concern for the Poor White Question ; the oldest of our universities was founded in the vestry of that same Church at Cape Town ; and other churches have done their share. The present unsettlement caused by doctrinal disputes should not cause our young men to fling aside this tradition lightly ; rather should it impel them (as

[1] Edwyn Bevan : The World of Greece and Rome.

indeed it has begun to do) to examine it afresh and to hold fast the good that it offers.

Now the study of the Ancient World (and we may here include the study of the Bible) suffered a reaction after the Great War (as we have said), and for a time poison-gas seemed much more urgent than the health of the mind. But the pendulum is swinging back to a more normal position in England, in America (see for example, a very interesting and elaborate report: The Classical Investigation) and on the Continent. With us, however, the omens are far otherwise. Latin in most schools is regarded as "dead" not only in the one accepted sense of the word, but in every possible sense; its corpse is laid on the dissecting-table and dismembered beyond the hope of resurrection; and often learners loathe the sight and turn away. It is doubtless a common complaint in the teaching of all literature, but more particularly does it apply to Latin, that works of art are butchered to make an examiner's holiday. As a result, people have despaired of classical teaching: it has come to stand in popular opinion for something completely dry-as-dust and antiquated; and recently a highly-placed official wrote that no aesthetic value could be derived from school-Latin (a statement that we venture to dispute), and that not only in Latin but in French, in German and in Greek beginners' courses should be provided at the Universities. The conception that some acquaintance with the Classics should form the basis of a specialized course in English or

French or other modern European languages, and that linguistic and cultural perspective should be given for this purpose by a study of Greek and Latin, has been abandoned by almost all the University institutions in South Africa. It is true, on the other hand, that the Classical Association of South Africa has made remarkable progress, and that *Die Huisgenoot* is striving with some success to make the Classical World known ; but on the whole the current is flowing against classical studies.

It is impossible here to argue the case for the classics in our educational scheme ; but it may be remarked that a young country with a growing literature should be loath to disregard the models that have helped to mould European literature ; that in the history of Greece and Rome there is much that bears on problems of nationality and imperialism ; that there are linguistic parallels that we might study with profit, particularly for the development of Afrikaans ; and that classical art needs more than ever to exert a steadying influence, while the enormous advances in classical archaeology may be useful to us in our own archaeological discoveries. Some of us should remember that among those who defended the Roman Wall against barbarism were our Holland ancestors.

As for the tendency to drop the third language at school and to begin it at the University, there is this fatal dilemma : either the student will have to cram four years of that language into a single year—a desperate procedure, in which the question will not

be one of wholesome diet but merely of indigestible stuffing—or the standard of our degrees will be lowered, a thing equally repugnant to contemplate.

There is, of course, no question of forcing everybody to learn a third language : we have now abandoned that. But the danger is that those who are anxious to learn and have the aptitude for it will actually be prevented from so doing. Consequently we shall have students coming from the Universities (we have them already) who wish to specialize in a modern language, but find themselves hopelessly handicapped because they lack a proper background. *Hinc illae lacrimae.*

Here it may be noted that the University Commission of 1928 recommended in no uncertain terms the limitation of Beginners' Courses at the Universities ; but it has not escaped the fate of most commissions, and its recommendations are already being ignored. What is needed is a new humanism in the presentation of all school subjects, but particularly in the teaching of languages (which certainly does not mean that grammar should be neglected, though it might be held that it should keep pace with, not dominate, the pupil's reading), and an attempt to make vivid the real life and significance of the country to which the language belongs. It should be considered, too, whether for those who are not linguistically gifted, or whose schools have not given them the chance, an attempt should not be made to present the content of ancient literature, art and history by the judicious use of translations, by

lectures on ancient life and thought, and using the many excellent books now available. At least one University is trying to set before its students the way in which our academic tradition has come down to us, and is contemplating a course in the history of the sciences ; but these things need careful handling and can only be done with wise planning and after much study. The whole position of language teaching is unsatisfactory and calls for an investigation by the Provincial authorities.

The barrenness that we have noted on the language side (far too little use is made of drama and the reading aloud of first-rate literature) corresponds to a similar lack on the science side. Why is the Arts student who takes one course in science so often left with a mass of dry-bones in the shape of formulae and artificial experiments instead of something living and significant? Why must the classical student who reads Lucretius learn for the first time the great names in the history of Chemistry ? The root of the trouble is the same : lack of Humanism. During the last visit of the British Association to South Africa Mr. E. R. Thomas showed in his lecture on the Atom what was meant by humanized science, and happily the idea is gaining ground. It is high time ; for intense specialization is producing learned barbarians, who are not educated at all.

For what, after all, is the most educative thing in the world ? Is it not, according to the Greek idea of the man who is *synoptikos*, the ability to see the principles that co-ordinate and combine things, the

connections that are significant, the relation of developments to their respective origins? If we follow up the notion that education is a growth, we may hold that it must form an organic whole, actuated by a single and continuous life; and its parts must be joined not mechanically but (as Aristotle said) like the limbs of an animal. How to relate the various branches of study so that they interact and function in this way is a problem and an art; and we are not likely to solve the problem or to practise the art while the present disruptive tendencies continue and "subjects" are regarded as "competing" with one another; nor will the warring sects be cured except by a renewed inspiration of humanism in one form or another.

It is worth remembering, too, that one of the fruits of the spirit that Humanism produces is a proper foundation for manners, by which is meant something deeper than convention, something akin to the courtesy of the man of whom Plato said that he was "truly gentle," and who exemplifies the virtue which, in the words of St. Paul, "suffers long and is kind, is not puffed up and doth not behave itself unseemly." Owing to a lack of humane foundation, our modern youth are not infrequently either surprisingly inarticulate or unpleasantly confident. "Manners makyth man" is not merely an idle saying: manners are a symptom of our deeper attitude to our fellow-beings. And it may be held that the general deterioration of manners throughout the world is in

part not unconnected with the contemporary decline in the study of the Humanities. To the ideal of *fortiter in re* our youth often forgets to add its counterpart of *suaviter in modo*.

But it may be said that in studying the past we are in danger of forgetting the present ; that it is all very well to know the Populus Romanus, but what is to be the place of our own people in the educational scheme ?

It is an ancient truism that education should proceed from the known to the unknown. In a Museum at Huddersfield, Yorkshire, exhibits are arranged in such a way that almost every period of history is illustrated by some stone or implement or painting derived from the district. The local centre is made the pivot for orientating the child's vision : abstract ideas are illustrated from his immediate neighbourhood. Very different was South African Education in the last generation, when we began our geography with the map of England, our History with William the Conqueror, our reading with books written for children in Europe, full of strange things like skating on ice and spring flowers in May. At that time botany in our schools and colleges took little note of South African flowers, and the sciences generally came to us with an unfamiliar environment. Many of our houses (especially those with little box-like stoeps) are still built after a model that is quite unsuited to South Africa. But here it is right to note great progress. Sir Herbert Baker, by recognizing the

great beauty of the Dutch gable and wide stoep and the possibility of adapting them to modern needs, saved us from a further development of the monstrosities that were put up in fashionable Peninsula suburbs between 1880 and 1900. Visitors from overseas are generally favourably impressed by our domestic architecture; and many of our public buildings are examples of well-nigh perfect adaptations to environment, while the Dutch Reformed Church has latterly been departing from its earlier style and is producing structures that aim at harmony with the surrounding veld. On the other hand Afrikaans was withheld until 1914, which means that the mother-tongue was neglected; and all who have read the Report of the Prime Minister's Commission on the teaching of English in England (1921) will realize the full implications of this; while South African History, if taught at all, was taught from a Whiteside or a Sidwell, than which no more need be said. There has been a radical change from all this in our schools; but the un-South-African attitude still lingers. Instead of setting South African education first in their interest and devotion, and trying to remedy its faults, many people begin by assuming the educational inferiority of everything South African and then turn away in disgust and direct their attention overseas. Yet our students, by gaining Fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge and various distinctions elsewhere, have amply proved the virtue of their South African training. It is surely right that here, as in the question

of nationality, our attitude should be South Africa first, but not alone. We must build on a genuine South African foundation, but be ready and eager to welcome whatever cultural influences may enrich our mental and spiritual life.

But a genuine South African foundation, which implies a live interest in the language and literature of English and Afrikaans, a knowledge of South African history and geography, a concern for South African Art, must include also the Native Races of South Africa. A pioneer race that has shed its blood in establishing itself in the land has a natural sentiment against education for the Native or scientific study of the Native. But it is pleasing to notice signs of a considerable modification of this sentiment—for example, in the expansion of Bantu Studies at the Universities and in the success of Conferences like that recently held at Fort Hare. The practice of accepting Native or Coloured students at the Universities has been, and is, in operation. Yet there is much to be done both in stimulating European interest in the Bantu and his culture and in providing the Bantu with better facilities for education.

In practice, the only source of financing Native education is the inelastic Native Development Fund. This fund consists of a fixed grant of £340,000 per annum (which represents the total expended on Native education in the four Provinces immediately prior to the passing of the Native Taxation and Development Act, 1925) *plus* four shillings of the pound

General Tax paid annually by all male adult Natives. The General Tax increases very slowly in proportion to total population, whereas school attendance, not having reached more than one-fourth of the maximum figures possible, is bound to increase at a faster rate than the increase of population. The Bantu community, which needs an elastic system of educational grants, has been given a particularly inelastic one. (Cf. Prof. Botha's Cape Education Report, 1929.)

Expenditure on Native education has, however, increased in recent years, and since the passing of the Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925 the Provinces have been levelled up to some extent, as the following statistics indicate:

	1921–2	1927-8	1929-30
Cape	£240,000	£309,750	£331,306
Natal	£49,000	£75,062	£104.000
Transvaal	£46,000	£68,100	£95,996
Orange Free State	£5,000	£21,550	£35,994

It should be noted that the huge increase in the Free State Grant is counterbalanced by the fact that the pre-1925 expenditure had been inordinately low.

The following table shows the relation of expenditure to enrolment for 1929-30:

	Expenditure			*Enrolment*		
	European	Native	Coloured and Asiatic	European	Native	Coloured and Asiatic
	£	£	£			
Cape	2,554,028	331,306	285,903	133,594	132,198	64,764
Natal	557,720	104,000	75,855	29,369	46,049	15,584
Transvaal ..	2,744,058	95,996	45,380	133,367	64,090	5,784
Free State ..	893,393	35,994	2,073	44,901	22,304	868

But (as we have indicated) education must spread its branches beyond the nation ; for to be self-centred is as bad for a nation as for an individual. It would be strange if, grown from European seed, we did not reach out and seek contact with the older nationalities of Europe. In a recent address the Superintendent-General of Education of the Cape Province spoke of starting with the idea of internationalism in order to find out what our conception of a national education should be ; and certainly no nationalism or national system of education can be justified if it forgets the international aspect. Conduct that we insist on in the society of individuals is often neglected when it comes to the society of nations. Qualities that we deprecate as being discourteous or selfish or uncharitable to our neighbours are sometimes defended when we are dealing with neighbouring nations. With us the League of Nations has never had a chance. It has been ignored, slighted and misrepresented ; its place in our schools (where, however, a beginning has been made) could be far more effective; its public exponents and supporters have never been numerous. It is suggested that active steps should be taken to make known the achievements, activities and aims of the League : knowledge of this sort is urgently needed. However much some may find to criticize in the details of the League's actions, few could genuinely oppose its aim. There are many things in the world that we may condemn (if we are so minded) in their

existing form, but of which we know that their direction is right. Of these the League is one.

It follows from the conception of education as a living and growing thing that it must have liberty; and anything like the imposition of religious restrictions, such as are contemplated by those who favour the abolition of the so-called "conscience clause," must react oppressively and adversely on education. This does not mean, however, that there should be no religious instruction. No educational system can afford to ignore religion—least of all in our time, when spiritual vision tends to be clouded by the apparently self-sufficing progress of technical science. Religion must have a place, and it would be well if we could be wise enough to adopt as our motto the 17th-century saying: "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity." Nor does it mean that there should be no restriction on the material side. The recommendation of the University Commission to the effect that Faculties like Medicine and Engineering should be limited to certain universities, and Agriculture to others, met with general approval; nor need we be surprised at the recommendation that the existing wastage occasioned by the overlapping of Provincial and Union Administrations should be removed. The recent movement towards incorporating the Normal Colleges in the Universities will undoubtedly save a certain amount of duplication, and will make for more harmonious relations; but before this scheme can be carried out there are many

thorny questions that demand solution ; nor will the isolated Training College in the country districts easily surrender its right of existence. There is great need for more co-operation between Universities and Normal Colleges. Professors are too often completely out of touch with the training of teachers, and in the Normal Colleges a false antithesis tends to be made between academic and professional work—an antithesis accentuated by the fact that the Normal College is controlled by Provincial Authorities, while the University is under the Union Government. There has grown up a sort of narrow professionalism which sets tricks of "methodology" against real knowledge of the subject to be taught ; and mere professional certificates are taken by well-meaning School Boards as an index of genuine teaching ability. There is, of course, a certain technique to be learned, but we should not forget that

> "There are nine and sixty ways of constructing tribal lays
> And every single one of them is right."

It is too often forgotten when appointments are made that in the end it is chiefly three things that produce the successful teacher : personality, a thorough understanding of his subject, and a living interest in what he teaches and in the pupils whom he teaches. It is only when these are present that "methodology" is fruitfully used and wisely applied ; the most pathetic of all failures is the young teacher who faithfully

reproduces the paragraphs of his methodized lesson—and finds it hopelessly unsuited to the particular type of child he has to teach.

School Boards should certainly not be allowed to carry on their present twilight existence. For their functioning cannot be other than shadowy, wedged as they are between the Department at the upper end and the School Committees and the Principals at the lower, with various inspectors hovering in the background. Hampered as regards finance, powerless in any dispute on educational policy, the work of the Boards is very often futile. In recommending appointments most School Boards are not in a position to take proper cognizance of all the applicants, and generally do no more than register the opinion of Principals or School Committees.

It would seem desirable to split up the Provinces into divisions with greater responsibilities and more effective control. Some measure of financial responsibility would create a more thoroughgoing interest in School Buildings and School Equipment than exists at present, when Committees sometimes adopt the policy of asking the Department for more than they require in the hope of at least getting something, while little foresight is exercised in recommending extensions and alterations. All these things should be more closely linked to the interest of the local committees or boards. Subject to the general supervision of a higher official, these boards or committees should

have certain moneys at their disposal (more than is the case at present) and the right to propose such modifications in the curriculum of their schools as may be suitable to their particular district. It may be mentioned that in England a policy of forming educational councils in the various counties has been followed with success in recent times.

Not long ago the Superintendent-General of the Cape Province made the suggestion that Central Schools should be established for those who intend to follow a university course. The difficulty at present is that the status of High School in some of the Provinces depends on there being a certain number of pupils in the Matriculation Class, in which is incorporated the Senior Certificate Class, consisting of those who are not aiming at University training. Now, in the smaller High Schools it is clearly impossible to provide options: accordingly there is a fixed selection of subjects for the final school examination, whether it is Matriculation or Senior Certificate. The result is either that the Senior Certificate candidates are forced to take unsuitable subjects or that the Matriculation candidates are deprived of subjects that they need as a foundation for their University course. Thus a student who has a bent for languages may be deprived (and is being deprived at the present moment) of the chance of taking Latin, and is reduced at best to the miserable expedient of crowding into one year at the University the work of

four school years, or at worst of missing altogether a course that he needs and for which he has aptitude.

Something must be done, more especially as the revised Matriculation scheme, which gives an option of Mathematics or a third language, will tend to multiply the schools in which neither Latin nor French nor German will be taught. And the insistence of the Medical Council on Mathematics will mean that many of our medical students will enter on their studies with no language other than English and Afrikaans. The establishment of Central Schools, in which a fairly wide range of options will be offered, seems the most feasible suggestion, though hampered, in practice, by financial considerations. It is to these Central Schools that we should look for the spirit of humanism that is our chief lack to-day ; it is on them that our Universities will largely build.

It has already been stated that the formation of Technical Colleges (or, as the University Commission rightly preferred to call them, Technical Schools or Institutes) has served a very useful purpose. Not only are they necessary from a vocational and an economic point of view, but they are important as helping to eradicate the false idea that all manual work is " Kafir work." Whether they should have been formed on so ambitious a scale may, however, be questioned ; nor should they be blind to the complaints of employers, on the one hand, who say that the pupils are puffed up with half-knowledge, and

not given enough practical training, and the charge, on the other hand, of taking over University syllabuses and encroaching on University work. We may agree with the University Commission that if our Technical Colleges were to develop into "Technical Universities" they would lose sight of their original purpose, and we may endorse the view that there exists a clear line of demarcation between a University, which aims at studying and co-ordinating underlying principles, and a Technical College, which studies theory only in so far as may be needful for practical efficiency.

The University Commission recommended that Technical Colleges should be brought under Union control, and rightly pointed out the wastage resulting from the fact that "technical" subjects in certain schools were overlapping with Provincial administration. We should be prepared to go further and recommend Union control of all education, with due provision for decentralization. A policy of Unification and simultaneous decentralization would bring us nearer to that organic unity of administration that was recommended by the Jagger Commission of 1917 and endorsed by the Hofmeyr Commission of 1923–4. Care would have to be exercised to guard against possible tyrannies in the central office by granting very considerable powers to local councils and providing a good deal of elasticity so as to take account of the widely different character of different parts of the Union. The whole question depends naturally on the

future of the Provincial Councils, and the reader may be referred to the paper dealing with that subject. But, in any case, it can hardly be doubted that more contact between educational bodies is needed, and the practice, started by the present Government, of convening conferences and of instituting regular inter-University gatherings cannot but be regarded as a step in the right direction.

If the unification of all types of education proves possible and a way can be found of conciliating our many Provincial jealousies (a thing devoutly to be wished), it seems desirable that a single Matriculation Examination should once more be introduced. The tendency at present is for each Province to run its own examination, and the result is unnecessary expense, a fruitless rivalry between the Provinces in regard to syllabus and organization, lack of efficiency in examining owing to the fact that there are not enough experienced examiners available, and much complication (in the past, at any rate) in securing exemption certificates for provincial candidates from the supervising Matriculation Board. The Transvaal was the first to run its own examination, and its experience has been far from uniformly fortunate. Now the Cape Province has obtained permission from the Board to conduct its own Secondary School Certificate Examination ; and presently Natal and the Free State will come with similar requests. If that should happen, the Matriculation Board, no longer embarking on

disputes of high educational import, and leaving to others the letters that complain of immoral set-books, will be reduced to a mere supervising and registration committee, unless it confines itself to conducting an examination for South-West Africa and Rhodesia and a certain number of private schools in the Union.

But all our organizing will avail us nothing unless we are stirred by a spirit that is at once in vital contact with the needs of our time and vitally aware of our debt to the past. That was the ancient Greek ideal. Twice before in the history of Western education the spirit of Greece revivified European culture: once when Rome was captured by the civilization she had conquered and again when Italy re-discovered the Greeks at the Renaissance. May it not do so again? May it not teach us once more that its message is not of dead and antiquated things, but of the joy of discovery, of a mind that is forward-looking, of a desire to prove and investigate all things?

The Roman heritage, blending with that of Greece, is expressed in all the many things that Cicero meant by *humanitas*: it is also seen to some extent in the outlook of a man like Sanderson of Oundle. *Vitae non scholae discimus*, said Seneca: "We learn for life, not for the school"; and many are repeating it to-day and hailing it as a modern principle; it is a phrase that may mean much or little according to the content we give to *Vita*. Often enough life is confused with the appurtenances of life, and the definition arrived at by

mechanical addition of necessities. But in the end it is nothing so artificial that will help us. It is something organic, a vitalizing spirit that we seek to promote by our educative efforts : and that subtle flame can only be fed by devotion, by love of knowledge and love of man. To inspire with these even the humblest learner in the most primitive of our schools, and to lead him in the measure appropriate to him to contribute to our common citizenship, is a high art and a noble ; and to acquire it we need wisdom which is more than knowledge. No less than this is the task before us.

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